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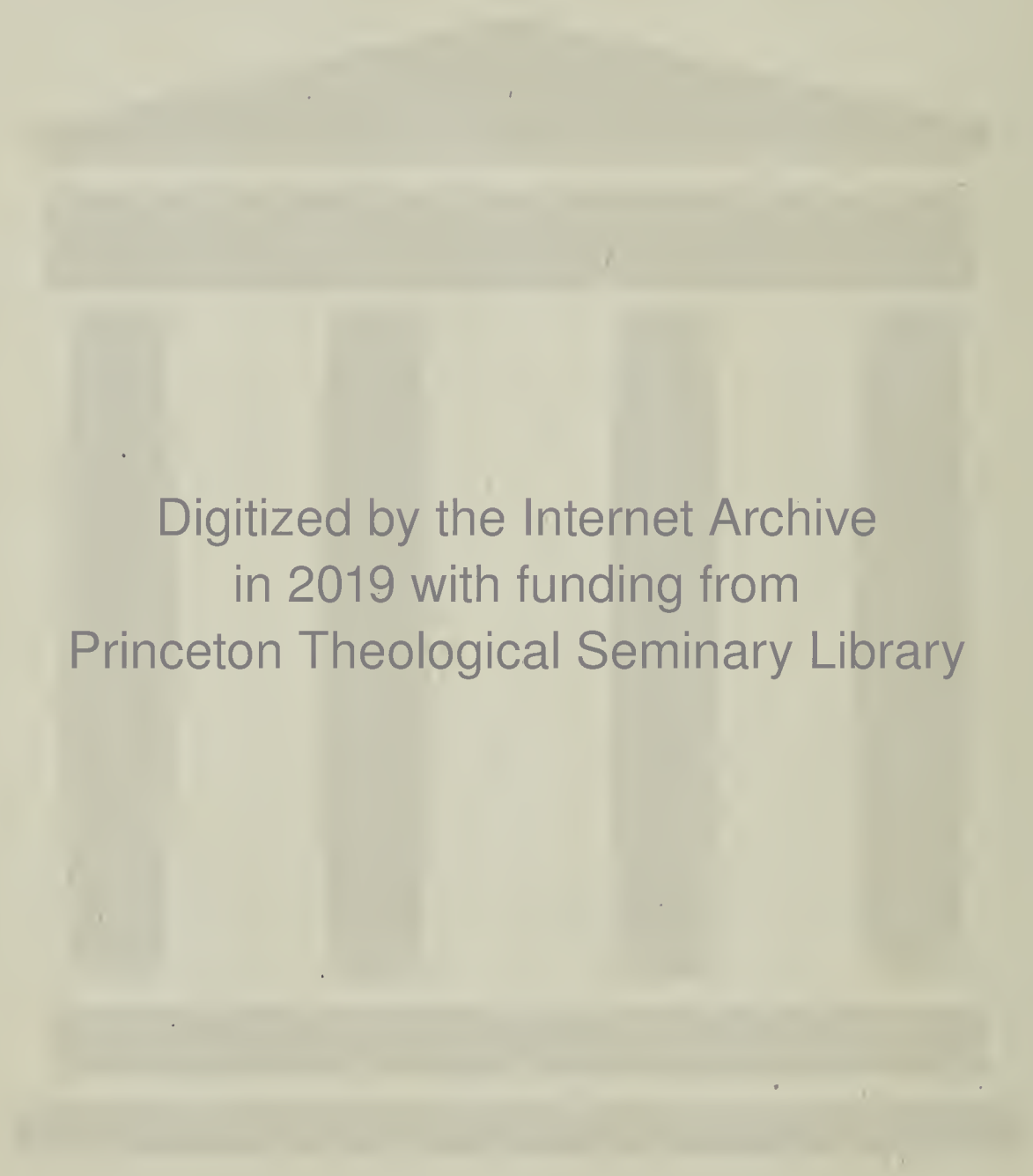
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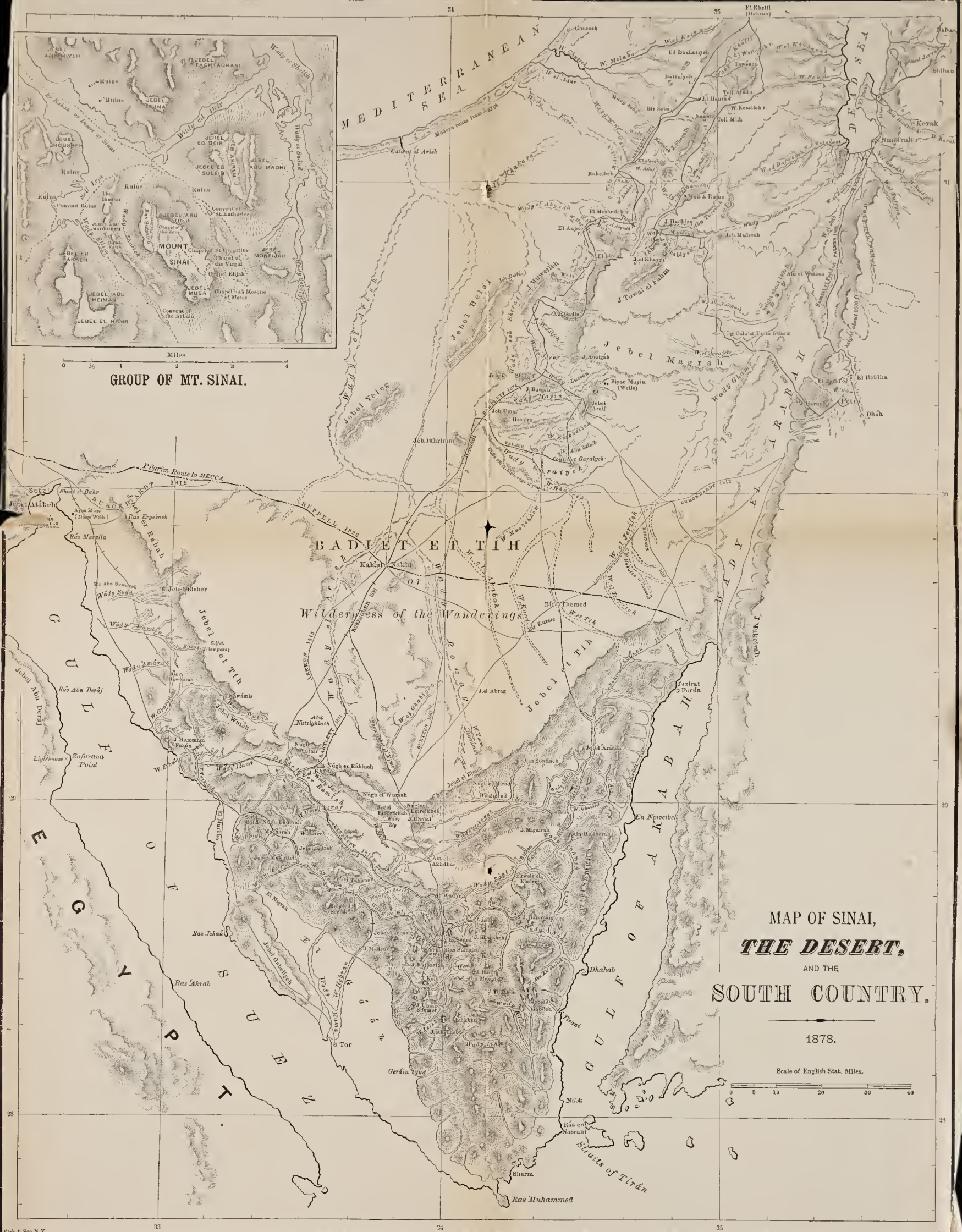
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GROUP OF MT. SINAI.



MAP OF SINAI,
THE DESERT,
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Scale of English Stat. Miles.

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MENEPHTA, THE SUPPOSED PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS.

From Lepsius's "Denkmäler."

FROM EGYPT TO PALESTINE

THROUGH SINAI

THE WILDERNESS AND THE SOUTH COUNTRY

*OBSERVATIONS OF A JOURNEY MADE WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE*
HISTORY OF THE ISRAELITES

BY

✓
S. C. BARTLETT, D.D., LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, AND LATELY PROFESSOR IN
THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



NEW YORK

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PREFACE.

THE present volume, and the journey which it records, were undertaken with a somewhat definite purpose. A large number of industrious and acute investigators have been engaged for many years in unfolding the antiquities of Egypt; and many judicious and learned travellers have recorded their observations upon the Sinaitic Peninsula and the Wilderness of the Wandering. These investigations have cast great light upon the history of the Israelites, as related to these regions, until it has become practicable to place the narrative of the Pentateuch at least approximately in its historic and geographical surroundings. These results lie widely scattered. Many persons have desired to find them gathered up compactly, and passed in review by some one who should possess the requisite knowledge of these discoveries and theories, and sufficient personal cognizance of the scenes and facts to do it with some degree of intelligence and unity of view.

This object the writer has endeavored to subserve. In company with three intelligent and observing friends—Rev. Jacob Chamberlain, M.D., missionary in India; Rev. E. M. Williams, of Minneapolis; and Edwin J. Bartlett, A.M., of Chicago, now Professor in Dartmouth College—he travelled from Alexandria to Beyrout by the routes herein recorded.

As other travellers had commonly expressed opinions drawn only from the special routes they had travelled, he

made it a point to examine personally, between Suez and Sinai, each of the several lines of travel which have been ascribed to the Israelites, and with the facts and opinions before him to judge for himself. The observations, and commonly the opinions, were shared, as they were greatly aided, by these companions. It may explain the minuteness of statement on many points to say that the writer had specially in mind the difficulties which have been raised concerning the possibility of such a journey as that described in the Pentateuch—difficulties with which his studies had made him long familiar; and that his observations were somewhat steadily directed toward ascertaining the actual and possible condition of those regions, and the correspondence here between the land and the Book. The same practical aim shaped his inquiries throughout the journey. He endeavored, in view of all that had been discovered and conjectured, to judge fairly for himself on the spot. It was no part of his purpose to indulge in exaggerated descriptions for the sake of “fine writing,” nor to advance novel theories for the sake of sensation. No doubt a large class of readers would eagerly welcome a volume filled with such novelties as that of Piazzzi Smyth, who finds in the Great Pyramid a divinely revealed standard of metrology, founded on the exact dimensions of the earth; or that of Brugsch, who would lead the Israelites along the Serbonian bog; or that of Mr. Forster and others, who converted the Nabathean inscriptions of Wady Mukatteb and elsewhere into records written by the Israelites themselves; or that of Beke, who in 1874 was fitted out with money from England, and with a steamer by the Khédive of Egypt, to seek Mount Sinai east of the Gulf of Akabah.

What is needed is not new theories; nor, perhaps, can it be now expected that, in the region of Sinai and the Wilder-

ness, any one traveller shall add much to the knowledge of essential facts. This could be accomplished only by laborious and protracted explorations, prosecuted by expeditions fitted out at very heavy cost. To the careful records of many learned observers, from the days of Burckhardt, have been added the recent researches of the British Ordnance Survey and the Palestine Exploration Fund, furnishing ample materials for the intelligent traveller to combine with his own observations, and thus to form the basis of intelligent opinions.

On returning to America, the writer had access to all the principal treatises on Egypt, Sinai, and Palestine, including not only books of travels, but such works as the *Denkmäler* of Lepsius, and his other publications; together with those of Dümichen, Brugsch, Mariette, Leemans, Chabas, and others—a donation to the Chicago Theological Seminary from the Rev. E. M. Williams. He trusts that he has used these sources of information discreetly, but no man could claim to have done it exhaustively. His aim has been to give his readers a knowledge of the present state of the case, and the means of knowing more. His own views he has freely expressed, while holding all subject to revision, should more light come. It is altogether probable that, in dealing with so wide a range of facts and opinions, he has fallen into some errors. These he will gladly correct. A meteorological record was kept, and many measurements and computations made, by Edwin J. Bartlett, A.M.

The author owes his thanks for courtesies to many persons at home and abroad. He desires particularly to mention his obligation to Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Blatchford and Rev. E. M. Williams, for aid and encouragement with reference to the journey. His acknowledgments are also due to Gen. Charles P. Stone, chief of staff to the Khédive of Egypt, for kind at-

tention and use of instruments belonging to the government. Unforeseen hinderances have delayed the publication of the volume many months after its preparation. Nothing has meanwhile fallen under the notice of the author calling for any changes of statement, nor diminishing the usefulness of such a work.

Some perplexity has been experienced in regard to the orthography of the geographical names, which is still unsettled. There is not only a German and an English method quite prevalent, but individual travellers of each nation have their own methods of representing these Arabic names. Thus, the orthography of Palmer is diverse from that of Robinson, and Dr. Porter's (as represented in Murray's Guide-book) often different from both. Moreover, in quoting from different travellers, it was, in some instances at least, deemed undesirable to change their method of representing the name. The author preferred to leave this diversity to some extent, rather than to attempt the functions of an arbiter and bring all to a fixed standard, until at least that standard should be agreed upon better than it is at present.

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FROM EGYPT TO PALESTINE.

CHAPTER I.

TO ANTIQUITY.

ONE may best enter antiquity through the "Eternal City." As all roads lead to Rome, so the road from Rome leads through all history. It is well for an American traveller—at least I found it so—thus to bridge over the chasm between him and the ages past. I had set out primarily to see the historic scenes of the old Covenant People: the country of their bondage, the track of their exodus, the mount of their law-giving, the desert of their wanderings, and the land of their hope and promise. To the native of a country whose oldest monuments and records are younger than three centuries, those events seem at times interminably remote, and inaccessible. The city that once joined all nations together still mediates between the ages. She takes the traveller by the hand, and leads him steadily upward into the past. The spell of the Empire, indeed, is upon him almost as soon as he sets foot upon the shores of Europe; and by the time he has reached the "golden mile-stone" by the Forum, he begins to have a sense of fresh contact with the chief events of the past. They lie around within easy reach. Through all the diverse and multitudinous sights of Europe, there is found one central historic cord running up to antiq-

nity. I first encountered it in the little remnant of a brick-and-cement wall, found not without difficulty, in a garden at Carnarvon, Wales. At Chester the whole soil was full of relics, cropping out wherever a drain is dug; and the old bath-room, now underground, still showed its bathing-tub *in situ*. At York were to be seen the ruins of Roman towers; at Lincoln, the solid gate-way still in use; in London, the central mile-stone; and in every considerable collection of curiosities, from Edinburgh to the south of England, Roman altars, relics, and inscriptions. On crossing to the Continent, the marks of this ancient and ubiquitous force grew more continuous. They lay all along the Rhine Valley: at Cologne (*colonia*), thickly sown with mosaics, statues, and sarcophagi; Bonn, rich in its cabinet of antiquities; Engers, where the masonry of Cæsar's bridge is still pointed out; Coblentz, the *confluentia* of the Moselle; Treves, up the Moselle, exhibiting its ancient gate-way, baths, and amphitheatre; and at Maintz, with its aqueduct, its monument of Drusus, and its museum overflowing with all manner of Roman relics. Where the Rhine comes from Switzerland, the name which the Romans gave still remains in "Basilea" (Basle). On the shores of Lake Geneva, and along the valley of the Rhone, as at Sion (Sedunum) and at Martigny, I had seen the permanent marks of their occupancy; and in one almost solitary place a single Roman pier stood bolt-upright by the river, to tell of an energy such as never has been there since.

Such indications as these keep growing upon the traveller till the strong hand that once lay upon the nations has taken firm hold of him. The impression deepens as he approaches the seat of that ancient power. The first contact with the macaroni-making, chestnut-roasting, begging population of the modern city makes him ready to question, indeed,

whether there is not some mistake. But an old column or a majestic ruin brings back the spell, and, after a little roaming about this wonderful place, he begins to feel that he is almost in the presence of the great acts and actors of the ages past. There can hardly be found in the world another place that so shortens the way back through the world's history.

Sometimes you ascend by a series of colossal steps. You stand on the Piazza del Popolo, before a tall granite obelisk covered with inscriptions. Gay equipages, with fleet horses and showy liveries, are gliding by in a continuous stream of life. But as you lift your eyes to the column, you read first the inscription of Sixtus V., "Pontifex Maximus," bearing date near three hundred years ago. Next you read the name of another "Pontifex Maximus," Augustus Cæsar, who records that this was his own undivided gift to the Roman people, some 1500 years earlier, and that he brought it from Egypt. Higher yet you read the names of Rameses II. and Seti I., and you have mounted some fourteen hundred years beyond Augustus Cæsar. Or you bridge the way to Cæsar's time by shorter arches, when, for example, you enter the little church of San Clemente, where services have been conducted seven or eight centuries in the present building, but in an ill-fitted choir taken from an older church. From the sacristy you descend a long double flight of steps into an excavation accidentally originated within about a dozen years, and completed within five, to find yourself in another older church directly underneath, containing sixteen columns of granite and marble and various fresco paintings, between which five more centuries seem to intervene; and you learn that St. Jerome, in the year 592, mentions a church in this place. From this lower church you still descend, passing on the stairway two or three strata of ancient city walls, one of

which is supposed to belong at least to the republican period of Rome, and another perhaps to the time of Servius Tullius. Beneath all this, down where the water stands a foot in depth, on the one side is a chamber containing an altar to the oriental god Mithras, and on the other a well-built room, with a vaulted and stuccoed ceiling and the base of a marble column, which is alleged to be the house of Clement, the apostolic father, for whom the church is named. It may or may not have been his; but in descending those successive flights of steps, you have, beyond all cavil, walked from the nineteenth and the twelfth to the fourth century of the Christian era, and an indefinite period beyond.

Or you may waive all intermediate stages, and stand in the presence of the Empire and the Republic. There is a singular sense of personal acquaintance with those times and men, when, as you ascend the Capitoline Hill, between Castor and Pollux, the first mile-stone of the Appian Way is on your right, and Marcus Aurelius, with outstretched hand, mounted on a horse, to which Michael Angelo once said, "Get up," welcomes you to the spot where Brutus addressed the people after Cæsar's death. As you descend on the other side, the events which Sallust describes grow vivid while you stand in the unquestionable hole, the Mamertine prison, where Jugurtha starved, and Catiline's accomplices were strangled, and see the place of the stairs by which Cicero came forth to say, "*Vixerunt.*" The sense of recentness increases when you leave the prison and look upon the site of the Senate Chamber, where he and Cæsar debated the doom of the prisoners—for the old cement of the foundations still holds together like a rock; and close at hand the three columns of Vespasian and the eight of Saturn's temple stand as firm on the solid mass of substructure as though they were set up last year. From the site of the Senate

House diagonally across the Forum you enter the spot from which Cæsar no doubt went forth to his death, and, hard by, the place of Cicero's modest dwelling on the edge of the Palatine Hill. You push through the monstrous substructions of the same hill, and climb to the site of the palace where Caligula raved, or descend into the Atrium and Triclinium of Tiberius's father, and look upon the frescos which the family saw at their meals. You pass round, seeing in four or five places great blocks which belonged to Roma Quadrata of the earliest times. You go to the rear of the hill, half-way down, into the rooms of the Pædagogium, and read names which the boys scratched on the plaster of the walls—Felicis, Dolychorus, and others—and half sentences, in bungling letters, such as "*Corinthus exit de pædagogio.*" You descend in front over the ancient lava pavement of the "Via Nova," by the foundations and remains of the temple of Jupiter Stator, commenced, as the story goes, by Romulus, and you read on two blocks of stone, lying ten feet below the surface, the names of Diocl[es] and Pelora[lis], of Rome's third century; while on your right and left are the historic sites where Ancus Marcius and Servius Tullius lived. You enter into the private life and sumptuous habits of Rome's imperial rulers when, for example, underneath the wide-spread ruins of Titus's Baths you pass through room after room of Nero's palace, seeing the paintings in spots yet upon the walls, and the bath-tub in which the wretch washed the tenement of his foul soul; and still beneath that palace you look upon the mosaic floor of the villa of Mæcenas, which it covered up. On the way thus from the Palatine to the Esquiline Hill you have passed, perhaps, over the old pavement of the "Sacred Way," where so many triumphs went; beneath that Arch of Titus, on which is to be seen the only contemporary representation of the golden

candlestick,¹ the Jubilee trumpets, and the showbread table; and by the Coliseum, where Ignatius and so many other martyrs shed their blood. And thus the vista opens up both to the Temple and the Cross. You are forced to remember, as you study the beautiful Column of Trajan, wreathed with fresh sculpturings of forgotten warfare, that the man who reared it personally doomed Ignatius to prison, torture, and the beasts. The Arch of Septimius, the Tomb of Hadrian, and the Baths of Diocletian awaken the same kind of associations.

The sense of personal intercourse with these great factors of history is completed by standing in the presence of so many marble portraits. In a room of the Lateran one is introduced to Augustus and all his family. In a chamber of the Capitoline Museum all the emperors and some of their wives look in his face, until at last the features of Julius and Augustus Cæsar are almost as familiar as those of Wellington and Napoleon. A multitude of bass-reliefs make one live over the scenes of classic fable; and the matchless statues which the rulers of the world gathered here, not alone by the hundred, but literally by the thousand, open an entrance to the best ages of Grecian art.

These things not only enliven the impressions of the past, they at the same time strengthen the faith historically, and, I might well add, religiously too. Recent excavations have developed facts before which some of the modern historic

¹ The substantial accuracy of this bass-relief is conceded, although some subordinate details are deemed improbable. The original was then, and long remained, in the hands of the Roman conquerors. De Sauley in 1864 procured at Tiberias a bass-relief of the candlestick, said to have been brought from Um Keis (Gadara), which he deposited in the Louvre (*Voyage en Terre Sainte*, ii. 263); and another was found by the Palestine Exploration Fund on the lintel of a ruined synagogue at Nebartein, in Galilee. But the age of neither is known definitely.

doubts must stand rebuked. And there are other indications here which carry us down to the old palæozoic rocks of Christianity, and prove its once mighty hold upon the Empire. The time is not long past when there was more of ancient history below than above ground in Rome.

This wonderful city opens up like a great avenue into the Apostolic Church. Perhaps there is no place in the world which, by its unbroken line of historic connections, its manifold chains of association, and its direct and almost personal contact with a great cloud of witnesses, so brings one into the presence of the earliest Christianity. One wanders among memorials here that are authentic and indisputable, until he feels that he could quite as easily and rationally doubt the chief facts of the Roman Empire, as the grasp with which the Gospel laid hold of the Empire within twenty-five years of the death of Christ.

Indeed, its superior vitality and viability strikes the eye at once. The Empire had the start. But after eighteen hundred years the outward memorials of the one are a few crumbling ruins; of the other, three hundred churches or more, degenerate indeed, but maintaining the activities of life. The only entire edifice of Imperial times, the Pantheon, was preserved by its Christian consecration twelve hundred years ago. Three columns, inscribed with the mocking word, "*restituerunt*," are all that remain of Vespasian's temple, and an equal number stand for that of Augustus ("Mars Ultor"), while antiquarians dispute whether it was his. St. Peter flourishes his keys on the top of Trajan's Column, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius has been "purged of all impiety" by Sixtus Fifth. The massive tombs of Hadrian and Augustus have long been cleared of the ashes of nigh a score of dead emperors, and the cover of Hadrian's sarcophagus was spared to be a baptismal font in

St. Peter's. If Aurelius on horseback still welcomes us to the hill of the Capitol, it is because, ages ago, he was mistaken for the Christian Constantine. The priceless treasures of art that once filled the imperial palaces have been preserved to us chiefly in the palaces of the Pope.

The memorials of the emperors are largely, also, reminders of the contact of the Empire at every point with the facts and factors of early Christianity. The Arch of Constantine celebrates the battle in which, "*instinctu divinitatis*," he won the victory, thenceforth avowing himself a Christian.² The Coliseum is not more closely associated with the lives of three emperors than with the deaths of an uncounted host of Christian martyrs. Titus engraved on his Arch the tokens that Christ's prediction was accomplished. The mutilated shafts of Trajan's forum suggest the un mutilated letters of Trajan and Pliny, written close upon the death of the Apostle John, and attesting the numbers, the ways, and the sufferings of the Asiatic Christians. The "Tower of Nero," which marks the spot from which the tyrant beheld the burning city, also reminds us of the ensuing havoc inflicted by him upon the Apostolic Church, and of the "*ingens multitudo*" of Christians then in Rome, among whom, no doubt, was Paul. And then it comes to mind how this was the city to which the great apostle wrote his greatest epistle, its genuineness undisputed by the most ardent scepticism; this the place from which he sent the Christian salutations of them "*which are of Cæsar's household*;" this the city from which his last brave words were written.

And here at times one is confident that he is on the very

² Attention has been called to the vagueness of the phrase used in this inscription, as perhaps a compromise in the Senate, and to some indications that the phrase itself is not the original form of the inscription.

track of Paul: certainly along the Appian Way, and under the Arch of Drusus; perhaps in the imperial Basilica on the Palatine, where he "answered" to the emperor; most likely on the Ostian Way, where he went forth to his death; and possibly, at least, in the now subterranean apartments of San Pudenziana and of Santa Maria in Via Latina; if not in San Paolino, and still less in the Mamertine Prison. The lounging soldier helped us to feel the freshness of these things when he scratched in a room of the Palatine his caricature of the young religion, under the figure of a man with an ass's head upon the cross, and the comment, "Anaxamenos worships God."

We even trace the memorial connection, in a peculiar continuous series, up to the earliest times. The church of San Clemente, already described, takes us back by successive stages almost to the apostolic father whose name it bears, Clement of Rome. The church of St. Agnes and the Lateran take us to the time of Constantine, while others already mentioned (*e. g.*, San Pudenziana) seem to connect themselves with houses of a much earlier date.

But, however this may be, we stand at length in person by the side and in the midst of the mighty host of early witnesses, and read the personal testimonies with which they went to their rest. The impression of the Catacombs, their almost breathing inscriptions, and their vast numbers of human remains, multitudes of which still lie just as they were laid by pious hands, is deep and irresistible. Here we literally walk among thousands, hundreds of thousands, and, De Rossi says advisedly, "millions," of ancient believers, as dating certainly as far back as A.D. 71, and thence to A.D. 410. These Catacombs lie in a zone some two miles wide, outside of the city, and their latest and most careful investigator has ventured the estimate that the entire extent of

their passages is as great as the length of all Italy. I visited four of them, besides that belonging to the Jews. In one of them I wandered round some two miles by taper light, seeing but an eighth part even of this. It was a newly excavated portion of the Catacombs of St. Agnes. We passed through two series of galleries, one beneath the other, and looked down into the third. On each side were tombs cut into the rock above each other in from five to nine successive tiers, each tier followed by the next throughout the entire distance, with scarcely a vacant foot between. Many of the tablets that closed the niches in front still remained undisturbed, showing the trustful inscriptions of Christian "peace," rudely cut, or sometimes merely scratched in mortar with the point of a trowel. But most of them were opened, and the remains, often entire skeletons, sometimes two or even more in a single tomb, were lying precisely as they lay ages ago. In three-quarters of an hour I must have passed the remains of ten thousand persons, and I was freshly reminded of the statement of Tacitus—the "great multitude"—and the rather intense boast of Tertullian, that to expel the Christians would be to depopulate the Empire.

It is impossible to convey to another the impression of the nearness, vividness, and absolute certainty of the great events of early Christianity made upon one who walks among these miles of Christian dead, and these thousands of original and separate records. Many of the inscriptions have been removed to the more convenient galleries of the Vatican and Lateran. They are in general rudely, often hastily and clumsily, cut or scratched, frequently in unclassical Latin or in the Greek of those times; but they all record that the occupants are "in peace," or that they "rest," while the cross, the olive-branch, the dove, the victor's palm, symbolize their faith and hopes. A man who walks round

among this host of early witnesses that have here individually proclaimed their faith, often from the martyr's tomb and with the martyr's memorial, is constrained to feel that the evidence of anything else in all the past life of Rome is almost insignificant in comparison. And they not only tell the fact, but the nature of their faith. Nothing so shines out as the brightness of that hope. I visited the Hebrew catacombs, marked with Jewish symbols, and two of the old Roman columbaria, containing the ashes of some thousand persons, and I spent many hours in examining¹ the inscriptions gathered in the Vatican and Lateran palaces from Pagan and Christian burial-places. The difference is marvellous. The Pagan inscriptions are often ostentatious records of rank and title, and in not a few instances they are full of yearning expressions of endearment for "a beloved son," "a sweetest daughter," or even "an incomparable wife." But I searched in vain through hundreds of inscriptions for one expression of any hope beyond. One young wife "lies in darkness;" a despairing mother sees in the death of her two children "her own funeral;" a young daughter comforts her parents that her early death was "fated." But commonly all comment is sadly wanting. In the Jewish catacombs I noticed in only two places the expressions "in peace" and "sleeping." But this was the universal Christian song: they were in peace, resting, sleeping, in Christ, in God. The comfort of the survivor also expresses itself not seldom in touching forms. The memorial is made to the "dearest and most blessed wife;" or to "the most loving and noble wife, by her most happy husband."

I could not fail to notice, in passing, one or two striking facts here indicated concerning this early Church. One was the absolute Christian equality here exhibited. There are no records of human estimation, although sometimes a sim-

ple designation of a church officer. But even then the men whom the Romish Church calls "Popes" are simply termed "episcopns," pastor. And while the pagan inscriptions abound in allusions to slaves and freedmen, it is a significant fact that eleven thousand Christian inscriptions do not contain more than six or seven such allusions. Noteworthy, also, are the views which these Christians entertained concerning their departed infant children. I copied numerous inscriptions upon children from three years old down to two years and one, where the phrases and the symbols were the same as in the case of adult Christians; thus: "Alexander in peace, who lived one year and twelve days;" a little girl who lived one year and fifteen days is "in peace," and beneath is the dove with an olive-branch. Just so in numerous other instances. But a specification of the views here indicated would lead me too far from my main object. I would merely indicate, in passing, the untold wealth of faith and love that is embodied in these rude and "simple annals of the poor," and the impression here made of the tremendous force of testimony to the power and veritable character of the Christianity which sprang up in the imperial city almost immediately after the death of our Lord.

Here, also, is the place in Europe where one first lays hold of the chain of connection with ancient Israel. It is almost startling to think, as one stands beneath the Arch of Titus and looks upward, that he is gazing upon a contemporary representation of the furniture of the Temple; and, as he turns toward that vast amphitheatre which stands in full sight, that its walls embody the labor of twelve thousand captives, some of whom may have seen our Lord walk the streets of Jerusalem. Half a mile westward, in the filthiest part of the city, the Pescheria (fish-market), may be seen four Corinthian columns and three pilasters of white mar-

ble, and part of an ancient pediment, nearly hidden by surrounding brick walls. They are part of the Portico or Colonnade of Octavius. It was here that Titus and Vespasian celebrated their triumph over the ancient people, and Josephus was probably a spectator. And all around—for it is in the Ghetto, or Jews' quarter—are lineal descendants of those captives. On the external frieze of the neighboring synagogue may be seen representations of David's harp and Miriam's timbrel, and on the frieze within, of the Temple and its vessels. The connecting link between the present and the long past is to be found outside of the city, on the road to St. Urbano, in the Jewish catacombs, where, surrounded by occasional symbols—palm branches, and in one instance a candlestick, with Latin inscriptions written in Greek characters—the Israelites were laid to rest, as early as the third century of our era. He who would mount still higher, and see objects on which the eyes of their distant ancestors might have rested in Egypt, has but to visit the Piazza del Popolo, or that of San Giovanni, and read on those obelisks names which perhaps antedate the Exodus.

CHAPTER II.

TO THE EAST.

ONE rises by instalments to antiquity; but he plunges at a bound into the East. That great inland sea, so fringed with historic sites and ruined cities of magnificence and renown, is all that lies between. The West hugs its one coastline, the East its other. It is but four days by steam from Brindisi to Alexandria, to a world so different that we wonder how we slid into it so easily. As the vessel approached the harbor, all that could be seen was a long, low line of houses, intermingled with a few larger buildings, a lighthouse, and the masts of shipping. They mask the flat coast of Egypt and the city of Alexandria. Inside the harbor twenty steamers lay around us. We were compelled to remain on board, in quarantine, for forty-eight hours, because the cholera had been in Naples during the summer and autumn, though it was now the 12th of December. At length the quarantine doctor inspected us—that is, he counted us as we walked by him in order—and we went ashore. The passport was inspected for the first and last time in the journey of a year, the trunk opened sufficiently to show that it was not an infernal machine. And though a carriage took us to an English-speaking hotel in the large English quarter, the sights on the way were novel indeed: men of every color, from sooty black to dingy white, wearing turbans and tarboushes, and baggy trousers dangling about their heels, and exhibiting in their clothing every shade and combination of

colors—except, perhaps, pure white; veiled women, sometimes skinny, lank, and sallow, occasionally with brilliant complexions and lustrous eyes, that showed through the thin veils; girls with heavy burdens nicely balanced on their heads; children riding astraddle upon the mother's shoulder, and occasionally a woman seated astride upon a donkey; camels stalking along, swinging their riders at every step, or kneeling and growling to receive their loads; while palm-trees and rows of great cactus plants, and in the gardens, bananas and oranges, told of a temperature for which the hot sun himself, even in a December day, stood voucher.



ALEXANDRIA.

Few places are more difficult for the imagination to connect with the facts of their history than this city. Pompey's Pillar and Cleopatra's Needle stand in historic isolation, and, misnomers as they are, suggest what seems a myth. One can see how the quick eye of Alexander could seize the spot for the harbor of Egypt, the outlet of the East, the centre of the world's commerce. But to identify this in thought as the place where successive Ptolemies once concentrated the culture of the world, where for centuries the now fragmentary literature of early times was gathered in its fulness,

and, possibly, the lost clews of ancient history were joined together, where the oldest and most invaluable version of the Hebrew Scriptures was given to posterity, where Euclid taught geometry, Galen studied medicine, and Philo, Ammonius, and Plotinus led off the New Platonic philosophy, is no easy effort. It is not difficult to imagine that here Cæsar was once in straits, that Cleopatra may have been conveyed to his residence rolled up in a carpet, and that here Antony and Cleopatra held long and high revelry. But to think of it as a great centre of early Christian activity, where, according to the tradition of Eusebius,¹ Mark the Evangelist preached and founded churches, whence probably originated choice manuscripts of the New Testament, where Origen performed his adamantine toils, whence Arius and Athanasius made the world ring with the great question of the Trinity, is a long stretch of the imagination, so thoroughly does the region now lie under the palsy of Mohammedanism. The city, formerly of half a million inhabitants, a century ago had sunk to six thousand. European commerce has raised it again to nearly half its former size.

A forenoon's drive exhausted the chief objects of interest in Alexandria. A vigorous struggle of more than twenty minutes at the railway station enabled us to get two trunks aboard for Cairo, but the train waited for the last man. As the journey took us along Mehemet Ali's canal, could the twenty thousand men who in two years perished at the work have appeared to us, they would have formed a larger population than we saw at any point along the line between Alexandria and Cairo. Through the whole distance the land is perfectly flat, scarcely relieved by occasional mud-built Arab villages, or by the dismal mounds that mark the site

¹ Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, ii. 16.

of ancient towns. One is reminded of the vanity of human expectation as he crosses the Rosetta branch of the Nile, where in 1856 the heir to the throne of Egypt was drowned by a careless engineer; and of the evanescence of human glory as he sees, a little farther along, the mounds of Sais, once a royal capital and burial-place, famous for its national *fête* and its temple with the celebrated inscription, "I am all that has been, is, or shall be, and no mortal has lifted my veil."

The soil seemed quite ordinary, but continued to improve till, when we crossed the Rosetta branch and were within the Delta proper, it was exceedingly rich—much like that of a Western prairie; and, though not averaging as black, yet having the advantage of being intersected by channels of Nile water, which was diffused by personal labor all over it in little streams. Hundreds of men were engaged in raising the water from these channels into the rivulets. For the greater heights this was done with a "shadouf," a bucket attached to a well-sweep. For smaller distances two men swung between them, on a rope, a large tight basket, which with one motion they would fill, and with another raise and empty into the higher channel. Sometimes a man stood in the water up to his knees, and lifted the basket by a simple lever movement. The higher channels were intersected at right angles by numerous smaller ones, which were opened or closed at pleasure, so as to carry the water to every part of the surface. At present the men were turning the water mostly among the young grain-crops, which were now (Dec. 15) a few inches high, or among the young cotton-plants. We passed through miles of cotton plantations. In many fields the cotton had been recently gathered, and the men were clearing the ground; in other places the young plants were but a few inches high.

Immense quantities of cotton were to be seen, on the trains, at the stations, and on the backs of camels that were bringing it in bags to the stations. Occasional heaps of shelled maize, and large quantities of the stalks scattered here and there, gave evidence that this also was an important crop.

At rare intervals the railway passed through a village. The houses were all huddled together. They were low huts, built of sun-dried mud, that seemed not always to have been shaped into bricks. The roofs were sometimes round, sometimes flat, covered with straw or corn-stalks, or palm branches—sometimes with mud. The whole scene was novel. The long level stretch of land, the canals, rivulets and buckets, turbaned men in odd costumes riding donkeys, workmen in equally strange and Oriental clothing, goats, large-tailed sheep, buffaloes with horns recurved to their necks, antique ploughs and mismated animals, the naked trees with tufted tops, all raised the inquiry how we came there. The answer and connecting link was the railway train, managed, however, by dusky hands, and conveying a handful of Europeans with many car-loads of Orientals.

Unmistakable objects at length told us precisely where we were. First were seen, standing out sharp on the horizon, the Pyramids, some twenty-five miles to the south-west. Next the minarets of Cairo hove in sight. The ancient On was soon passed on the left; the low hills that bound the Nile valley became more distinctly visible; and in a few minutes more we were in Cairo. A telegram in advance had brought a carriage (!) to the station to meet us. As we passed out, a swarm of Orientals followed, pushing each other, and ready to seize our packages almost by force. Meanwhile, three officials appeared with rattans—one of them soon exchanging his rattan for a whip—with which



STREET IN CAIRO.

they cut right and left, upon donkeys and drivers alike, until they had cleared a path, through which we went triumphantly to our hotel.

Cairo takes the traveller still farther into Eastern life. The Khédive has done much to change the outer aspect and first impression of the place. Hotels and other structures in European style, blocks of shops and similar buildings, the public gardens, several broad streets, pavements and gas, the great bridge over the Nile, a French theatre and an opera-house, carriages driving hither and thither, have invaded even this most Oriental of cities; and these things are now among the first to strike the eye of the traveller. But the other aspect of the place soon makes itself felt. Veiled women sit in the carriages, and a runner shouts along before to clear the way. Turbans and tarboushes, covering dark faces, are everywhere around. Camels stalk along, great homely creatures, but stately, strong, and solemn, with ponderous step and heterogeneous burdens. Hardy and long-suffering little donkeys move patiently with a knitting-work pace or a brisk canter. One of the first objects I saw was a man leading a donkey, on which was seated a woman holding a child in her arms, a living tableau of the flight into Egypt; just as afterward, up the Nile, I saw more than one withered face that reproduced an ancient mummy. A short walk at any moment will take one beyond all reminiscences of the West. In returning from the citadel one day, I struck off at random, and for nearly an hour and a half lived over the scenery of the Arabian Nights. It was first a stroll through narrow streets, enclosed by windowless walls below, and overhung by projecting upper stories and latticed balconies, and no visible sign of life. Then came the bazaars, where the long line of little shops, many of them not more than six feet square, were

piled up with goods all around, and in the middle of the open front sat the shopman waiting for his customer with all the patience of a spider watching for a fly. The merchandise told its own tale. Shoe-shops were resplendent with red slippers. Dates, mandarins, and other Egyptian



STREET IN THE BAZAAR AT CAIRO.

products graced the groceries. Hat-stores were filled with red tarboushes. In one place were to be found Damascus scarfs, in another gayly embroidered ladies' vests, and in another ottoman covers and party-colored table-cloths, wrought with odd figures and sentences from the Koran.

Money-changers loudly clinked their paras from hand to hand.

The interiors of the mosques had the same effect. They were marked by the peculiar taste and style of Mohammedanism. They have been sufficiently admired. They are striking from their strangeness; and with many features that are picturesque they have some that incline to the grotesque. They are often costly with marble, but somewhat tawdry with gilding overhead, and cheap with stucco ornamentation, and dreary with whitewashed walls and matted floors. An extreme illustration is seen in the great mosque of Mohammed Ali upon the citadel. Its vast size is impressive. An alabaster base runs round the whole interior, and a recess, occupying about half of one side, is also lined with alabaster. But the columns above their bases, if I rightly remember, are covered with plaster; a European chandelier or lustre in the centre is surrounded by two circles of lamps; and other common-looking lanterns or lamps, to the number of several hundred, dangling by long chains, give an aspect of cheapness and of childish taste to the whole interior. In an enclosed tomb in one corner lie the remains of its famous founder.

Not far away is the palace of Mohammed Ali. It is furnished largely in European style, with some pretensions to richness. One room, for example, is lined with green satin, and the bath-room is wholly of alabaster. Not far away is the court where he slaughtered the Mamelukes, and the steep place down which one solitary survivor plunged his horse and escaped. This is an association sufficiently Oriental. All this, however, is comparatively modern. Even the old mosque of Tooloon, with its pointed arches antedating the similar arches of Europe three hundred years, goes back only to the ninth century. Another step backward

is found in the Coptic churches of Old Cairo or Babylon. When one enters the church of Aboo Sirgeh and looks upon its carved screen elaborately inlaid with ivory, its mosaics of colored marble and mother-of-pearl all dingy with age; and when he descends into the subterranean chapel, with plastered walls and small baptismal font (two feet in diameter, and two and a half in depth), he is constrained to feel that he may be in a place, not indeed, as the tradition says, the resting-place of Mary and the infant Jesus, yet very likely as old as the Memphitic version of the Scriptures, which is attributed to the third century.

This and other churches, and the whole Coptic village to which they belong, are contained within an enclosure that rises to a still higher antiquity. It is the old Roman fortress of Babylon. The walls, interspersed with just such strata of red tiles as I had seen in Roman ruins of Lincoln, England, still stand in good condition, with round-towers and a main entrance, now closed. The Roman eagle ought, according to the guide-book, to have been seen under the corner of the pediment, but we could not distinctly make it out.

Yet the Roman eagle was but a youthful bird by the side of what one sees at Geezeh, at On, and in the Museum of Boulak. The ancient On, or Heliopolis, lies seven or eight miles north of Cairo by a pleasant drive. It is a singular sensation to stand and look upon that solitary obelisk, and to think that the student Plato saw it as an ancient monument in his time, and that fifteen hundred years before his time the patriarch Joseph read upon it the same hieroglyphic name, "Osirtasen," that one reads to-day. The lettering is still almost as sharp and distinct as on the British monuments of Nelson or Wellington. The neighboring mounds, as in all such ancient sites, are full of bits of pottery.

At Heliopolis we still hold in our hands the clue of Scripture allusions. But a drive to the pyramids at Geezeh carries us fairly beyond the circle of history. They stand there like the creatures of some Oriental tale, the work of the Afrites and the Djin. Of these hillocks of masonry not a chipping seems to have been left on the plain to tell that human hands wrought it to shape. Of the hugest of all the structures on earth not a record has come from within two thousand years of its origin. The glory of its builder is represented by a nameless sarcophagus. And yet, while the oldest of human monuments, these structures bid fair to be the latest.

When one enters the Museum at the Boulak (in Cairo) he finds one link at least that connects him with the epoch of these buildings. In the central hall he pauses before a green-stone statue, elaborately wrought, for which Mariette Bey claims the age of sixty centuries.² A seated figure of mild and dignified aspect holds in his right hand a roll of papyrus. The arms of his chair terminate in lions' heads, and on the sides are carved the lotus and papyrus, symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the base bears the hieroglyphic name of "Shafra," or Cephrenes. It is, no doubt, the builder of the second pyramid before whom the traveller stands; and he remembers to have seen in the British Museum in London the cover of a mummy-case found in the third of the pyramids, and bearing the name of Menkera (Mycerinus), its builder. There lies, too, a mummy found near by, but of which, alas! no man can tell whether it be the royal corpse, or only base and common clay.

The admirably life-like (standing) statue, in wood, contained in the same museum, and referred by Mariette Bey

² Mariette Bey, *Principaux Monuments*, p. 210.

to a time thirty-eight hundred years earlier than Praxiteles,³ as well as the Doric columns at Beni-Hassan, so vastly antedating the Theseum, suggest where the Greeks themselves, ages afterward, may have taken their first lessons in architecture, and even in sculpture.

But, however remote and obsolete these things appear, the chasm is crossed by the tokens that show themselves here and there in the perfume-boxes, rings, dolls, games, and jewelry, which indicate, through all the ages, the same habits and tendencies in the human breast.

³ "Portrait d'un personnage mort il y a six mille ans." Ib. p. 189.

CHAPTER III.

EGYPT AND THE NILE.

EGYPT is the most singular of countries. Herodotus rightly called it "the gift" of the Nile. The destiny of the land and the nation was bound up in its one river. And the river is as unique as the land. After an immense course above the Atbara confluent, it flows on for thirteen hundred and fifty miles without one branch—a phenomenon unmatched. About midway of this branchless course it enters Egypt at the romantic island of Philæ, just north of the torrid zone. For a few miles it struggles down a series of winding rocky rapids, called the First Cataract, eighty feet in five miles, and reaches Assouan, the old Syene, whence comes "Syenite"—the name and the thing. With an average current of between two and three miles an hour, and an average width of about half a mile, it runs smoothly six hundred miles, including its windings, to Cairo. A little north of Cairo it divides and enters the Mediterranean through two channels, formerly five or seven.¹

From Philæ to Cairo its course—the whole of which I saw by daylight—is through a narrow belt of fertile land, the Nile valley, almost never more than ten miles wide, sometimes a mere strip, and averaging only from six to seven miles. Two barricades of mountains or high hills hem in this little belt, and save it from the ravages of the desert

¹ Five natural, and two artificial. Herodotus, ii. 17.

sands. The stream now creeps under the shadow of the one and now of the other, oftener the eastern. These hills stretch along in horizontal layers, here and there scooped down and broken. Not a tree or blade of grass diversifies their sides or summits, and all beyond them is just as bleak and dead. The view from almost any point on the surface of the river is singularly uniform. You look forward or backward along a smooth stream with two selvages of green plain, enclosed by two high yellowish-brown rock-barriers. Against this background an occasional palm-grove lifts its high feathery branches, mingled with acacias and smaller trees. An Arab village huddles among them. Green crops cover the intermediate plain, intersected by innumerable little channels, like a chess-board. Straggling mud-built houses on the swelling grounds can scarcely be distinguished from the soil on which they stand. An ox and a camel, an ox and a donkey, or once in a while even a wee donkey and a huge camel, may be seen yoked together. A yoke of oxen is almost the exception. A group of loaded camels heaves in sight, moving solemnly along, or a big-turbaned man seated far back on the smallest of donkeys, with his flowing robes nearly hiding the animal, like a dwarf centaur. On the edge of the river a cluster of women may perhaps be seen, washing clothes and filling their water-jars at the same spot. At various points, nearly or quite naked men are filling the trenches from the river with baskets or with shadoofs. A flock of ducks floats on the water just beyond gunshot range. In the shallows here and there stand a group of cranes, turning their heads sidewise with an air of penetration, and back of them a row of pelicans of infinite gravity. Formerly bands of crocodiles were to be met with on the mud-banks. Steam-boats and gunpowder have disgusted them, and driven them above Philæ. I

saw but two. One lay like a log near the water's edge, beneath an inaccessible cliff; and when a bullet struck the surface just below him, he rolled clumsily off, and disappeared.

Such is the scene which, with little variation, meets the eye day after day up the Nile. It is a little glaring, when the sun is high, in these absolutely cloudless heavens. But when he goes down, and the western horizon glows with his mellow light, the whole scene seems like a dream-land, a view in some other planet.

This is the Nile valley from Philæ to Cairo. But at Cairo the mountains recede and swing off almost at right angles, leaving what is called the Delta of Egypt. Twelve miles north of Cairo is the division of the Nile into its Damietta and Rosetta mouths. These empty eighty miles apart, and the whole plain spreads to the breadth of one hundred and fifty miles along the Mediterranean. A narrow quasi-valley is the wady Tumilat, stretching eastward, a mile or a mile and a half wide, from Zagazig to near Ismailia. Add to this the fertile region called the Fayoom, south-west of Cairo (a tract about twenty-three miles by twenty-eight), and you have the whole of Egypt. It was a small country. The famous old lands, Greece, Palestine, Babylonia, were not large. The whole of Egypt thus described contained but from 11,000 to 17,000 square miles. Massachusetts contains 8700, Illinois 55,000.

This long narrow strip, terminating in a triangle, and extending five hundred and thirty miles direct from north to south—this is Egypt, this is “the gift” of the Nile. It is as fertile as all outside of it is waste and hopeless. Rains and showers have very little to do with it, practically nothing.

It is not strictly true that there is no rain in Egypt, although well-informed people, even travellers like Mr. Sew-

ard, often make that mistake. From Cairo to the sea, and especially near the latter, showers come quite frequently. Three days in one week, while I was at Cairo, it rained more or less (Dec. 16, 17, and 19, 1873), and in one instance hailed, to say nothing of a heavy rain one night at Suez. On the 23d of January following there were two showers at Cairo, and on the 24th two more, closing with a rainbow that spanned the whole sky, and the fragment of a second bow.² Bayard Taylor thinks that a recent change has taken place, growing out of the planting of trees, since he was first there, and increasing the rainy days from five to forty a year. But in 1852, Lepsius was actually deluged out of his tents by the rain at the pyramids; while Wilkinson wrote, twenty-five years ago, that both in ancient and in modern times "heavy storms occasionally fall at Thebes, at intervals of fifteen or twenty years; that at Thebes slight showers now fall five or six times a year; in Lower Egypt much more frequently, and in Alexandria almost as often as in the south of Europe." In ascending the Nile south from Cairo, rain becomes more rare, until you reach a region where, it is said, many persons grow up without ever having seen it. Still at Asyoot, the missionary, Dr. Johnson, told me how the rain on one occasion came pouring down through his sitting-room, and the more easily, that so little preparation is made for it. But it is, after all, the Nile that waters and fertilizes Egypt.

With a wonderful regularity the river begins to swell about the end of June, rises twenty-four feet at Cairo between the 20th and 30th of September, and falls as much by the middle of May. Six feet higher than this is devastation, six feet lower is destitution. It spreads a thin coat-

² It rains from ten to fifteen days a year.

ing of mud or slime wherever it goes, not more than a twentieth of an inch thick. But wherever the Nile water reaches there is fertility. No other fertilizer seems to be known. At its height, the natives stay in their houses on the higher lands, travel on the dikes, or swim across from point to point. When it subsides, the farmer makes haste to scatter his seed on the oozy half-liquid mud—"sows his bread upon the waters;" for thus it requires neither plough nor harrow. Pigs and goats tread it in. The Nile valley has thus been covered deep with Nile mud. The French Expedition found this loam to be five feet deep at the First Cataract, and forty feet at the Delta; beneath it some thirty-six feet of sand, then rock.³ The river-bed and the river steadily rise from age to age, till now, at its height, the water percolates under Karnak itself, and the bases of the great Colossi at Thebes then stand in a vast lake.

Such a land invites to cultivation of the soil, and not to pasturage. I do not remember to have seen a square foot of genuine grass-sod in all Egypt, unless possibly in some private garden and the public garden at Cairo; and it was a real pleasure to get where the firm turf grew again. But this soil yields abundantly to the rudest culture—a culture scarcely improved in its implements or methods for three thousand years. The surface is simply scratched with a one-handled plough, drawn by two diverse beasts, though the tombs at Beni-Hassan picture a plough of two handles. The reaping is still done with a hook, innumerable pigeons gathering one-twentieth of the crop; the threshing by oxen, dragging, however, a noreg, or threshing implement; winnowing I have seen done near Cairo with the winnowing-fan, tossing the grain to the breeze.

³ Daleth, by E. L. Clark, p. 115.

The chief labor is of irrigating the land as the river falls. Large quantities of water are reserved for a time in great dikes or canals along the valley, from which it is more easily distributed. But the chief direct reliance is the main river. Here, when the elevation is but slight, two men will stand, swinging a bucket or basket back and forth by two cords between them, and throwing the water off by every stroke all day long. For a greater height, a man uses a bucket attached to a well-sweep. This is the shadoof.



MODERN SHADOOF.

Sometimes a second and even a third shadoof carries the water up successive stages before it reaches the level of the valley. I have seen hundreds of men so occupied along the river, and they can be seen on the old monuments. Occasionally a creaking water-wheel with buckets, turned by oxen, does the work still more effectively, though rudely enough. This instrument, too, was not unknown of old. Here and there also may be seen of late a steam-wheel. The water thus lifted is received into considerable channels,

from which smaller ones diverge at intervals, and from these it can be turned into little rivulets and carried all over the checker-board surface of the soil. The Fellah opens or closes the rivulets with his foot, as the Scripture says, "Where thou wateredst the land with thy foot." In some regions, carefully watered, three and even four crops are raised in the year.

Of the crops, cotton, Indian corn (*doorah*), and sugar-cane are comparatively modern. I was surprised at their extent. Maize constitutes thirty-six per cent. of the grain-crop of the country.⁴ The Khédive, who is said virtually to own the soil of Egypt, has some eighteen sugar-mills. One of them, which I examined throughout, was fitted up with the most elaborate and costly French machinery. But, though I saw hundreds of hands employed in these establishments, I learn that it is with very little improvement of their condition in money or intelligence. One sees growing, also, abundance of wheat, barley, beans, lentiles, and clover.

The native trees are few. The king of Egyptian trees is the date-palm, tall and slender, with its round tuft of long plume-like branches at the top. Its supply of fruit is invaluable. I found, to my surprise, almost as much difference in dates as in apples. The trunk of the tree, whole or split, is abundantly employed for beams in building; its branches furnish wicker baskets, bedsteads, and light wood-work; its leaves make mats, brooms, baskets; the strong cloth-like integument that wraps the young branches is converted into ropes and mats. The number of these trees corresponds, in a rough way, to the number of inhabitants, each being not far from five millions. A tree well cared for will yield what would amount to nearly a pound a day, the average

⁴ Stephan, *Das Heutige Ägypten*, p. 78.

want of a man. The four elements of the Fellah are said to be the sun, the Nile, dates, and bastinado. Every tree is taxed; so is every sheep, ox, camel, horse, donkey, every mouthful of clover the donkey eats, and the boy that feeds and drives him, and every blue robe worn by the poor *fellahin*.⁵ The tax of seven or eight cents on each palm-tree has caused many of them to be cut down.

The Nile blessed the land in other ways. It has been from ancient times the highway of Egypt. No man's products lay more than four or five miles from this great thoroughfare. It cost ancient Egypt nothing for roads.

The Nile valley has furnished the simple building material for the Egyptian dwelling. Its clay, sometimes with a mixture of chopped straw, and often without it, simply moulded into a brick and dried in the sun, made a building material for the common people, which, in the dry climate of Middle and Upper Egypt, will stand for generations. Indeed, near Zagazig, at Bubastis, or Pibeseth, I traced the obliterated outlines of such bricks, laid into walls at great depth below the surface—some seventy-five or one hundred feet.

The building material for the temples and palaces, too, lay close upon the great river. At Assouan, near the very upper extremity of Egypt, whence it could be floated down its whole length by the mere current of the Nile, was the quarry of the fine hard red granite of which the obelisks, sarcophagi, and statues of the whole land were made, and of that green and gray granite which was largely employed for fine work. At Silsileh, also far up the Nile, was an inex-

⁵ Stephan (1872) gives the population at not quite five millions, and the best yield of a palm-tree at one hundred and fifty kilogrammes, or about three hundred and thirty pounds. The facts about taxation are mostly from communications in British journals during the late discussion of Egyptian affairs.

haustible quarry of the sandstone which furnished materials for the temples.

But, so far as shelter or even clothing is concerned, the mild climate of the country up the Nile creates little pressing call for either. The climate of Egypt is more uniform than that of almost any other country. At Cairo the thermometer seldom falls below forty degrees. General Stone, at Cairo, told me that, for twenty-six days in January, 1874, it never fell below fifty-six degrees nor rose above sixty degrees during his office hours. It is, of course, warmer as you ascend the Nile. During the month of January, at almost every village along the river, I saw stout boys of ten or twelve stalking round at all times of day, often in the streets and markets, without a shred of clothing.

With such a climate, such a soil, such a clock-work regularity of seasons, such certainty and facility of irrigation, fertilization, and cultivation; such ease of living, building, clothing, communication, and transportation, no wonder the land was early occupied, and civilization, up to a certain extent, early developed. So it was. The earliest history of infant Greece records an old and mature society and advanced arts in Egypt.

The traveller in Upper Egypt now meets one class of men wearing a blue or black turban, slightly under the middle size, with large almond-shaped eyes, sloping slightly upward from the nose. They are called Copts. Many have found in them a resemblance to the race pictured on the old monuments; their name, "Koptos," is supposed to be kindred with Aiguptos, Egypt; and these men are commonly admitted to be the descendants, not unmixed, of the old Egyptians. Their language is substantially the key to the hieroglyphics. Some one hundred and fifty thousand of these now represent the race that built the Pyramids.

The physical characteristics of the old race have well nigh faded out, however, and are but dimly seen. Well it might be so, for their unique land has always been an object of coveting to the outside nations, and again and again has it been overrun.

Historically, this singular land is a wonderful country. Far back Abraham looked in on a great empire in full glory, and if he visited Memphis, saw the same pyramid that the traveller climbs to-day; while Joseph, in On, his wife's home, beheld the obelisk on which I looked, and read the same name. Meanwhile the shepherd kings, with their Asiatic hordes, overran the Delta, set up their empire, and were driven out. Then Egyptian armies might be seen sweeping through Syria and Palestine, and into Assyria. Next came the Exodus. Afterward, again and again, Egyptian armies were in Asia. And at length, in their national infancy, the Greeks came down to Egypt to learn the rudiments. Pythagoras was here searching for the germs of philosophy, Thales to learn mathematics and geometry, Lycurgus and Solon to get hints of law and government. Herodotus, the oldest historian, was here with his note-book. Plato stayed thirteen years in On, or Heliopolis.

Then Cambyzes might be seen marching down the coast-road to conquer Egypt. After him followed Alexander over the same highway, discovered the chief harbor, and founded the city that almost rivalled Rome. In this same Alexandria we watch the Ptolemies gathering the learning of the world, and founding the library which, after ages of mishaps, had material enough left in Caliph Omar's time, A.D. 646, to heat, it is said, six thousand baths six months together. And about the time that Euclid was writing here the geometry of all time, the oldest translation of the Bible

was also made, the Septuagint, two hundred years before Christ. It was then the centre of Jewish learning.

The Roman wrenched it from the Greek. In Alexandria Antony fooled away an empire with Cleopatra; and here his own sword drank the life-blood of the one and the asp's poison stopped the heart-beat of the other. Cæsar was here, and Hadrian, and many of the emperors, and wrote their names on the temples of the Nile. Over that coast and caravan road at length came and went the infant Jesus. Within a mile of the obelisk at Heliopolis, then two thousand years old, the Copts still show a great sycamore tree where he rested in the flight; and at Old Cairo, still more preposterously, in the subterranean chapel of Sitt Miriam, the two stone niches in which Joseph and Mary rested at night. They were surrounded by a million Jews in Egypt. In Alexandria, Origen, the "adamantine," walked barefoot, slept on the ground, and was stoned in the streets. Here broke out, with speedy and terrific fury, the persecutions of Severus, Decius, Diocletian. Here sprung up the Athanasian creed and the Arian heresy. Here was written the venerable manuscript of the New Testament in the British Museum, probably the Sinaitic, and perhaps the Vatican and the Codex Ephraem.⁶ Three valuable versions — Thebaic, Memphitic, and Basmuric (of Thebes, Memphis, and per-

⁶ Sharpe says, somewhat too positively (*Hist. Egypt*, ii. 316), "The most ancient copies on parchment, which are the pride of the Vatican, the Paris Library, of St. Petersburg, and the British Museum, are the work of Alexandrian penmen." He adds, "The Beza manuscript at Cambridge, D, was written in Alexandria." This last statement should be modified by saying that it is believed to be a copy, made in the south of France, from an Alexandrian manuscript. As to the other four, A and B are generally conceded to have been written at Alexandria. C is referred to "Egypt," and therefore most probably to the same city; and the Sinaitic certainly presents very similar characteristics, and is regarded by Tischendorf as written by an Alexandrian copyist.

haps the Delta)—bear witness of the early Christianity of Egypt in the third century, perhaps with bishoprics at Alexandria and Syene. Egypt was soon sprinkled all over with monasteries and thronged with monks. Corinthian Christian columns are to be seen inside the huge pillars of Medeenet Haboo. St. Peter holds the keys in one of the inner walls of Karnak. On the knees of a giant form of Rameses IV. you read in ancient Greek, "Christ Jesus conquers." Live monks once cast out dead mummies from the hillside caves at Edfou, and scantily filled their places with deader men. Seven Coptic monasteries still remain, and one of the successors of those old monks swam out to our steamer from his high perch on the Nile, and came on deck in the clothing of nature.

In the seventh century came the Arabs. At Cairo reigned Saladin, the Crusaders' brilliant foe in Palestine. Near Damietta his successors captured Louis IX. of France and thirty thousand men. In the sixteenth century the Turks rushed in. Here Napoleon made that stirring battle proclamation, "Forty centuries look down upon you from the pyramids." Desaix left his record written on the Temple of Philæ; and near the mouth of the Nile Nelson annihilated the fleet of Napoleon and his visions of eastern empire. The land relapsed again into the hand of the Turk, like some living animal into the huge tentacles of the jelly-fish, sucking up its life. Mohammed Ali lies in his gorgeous tomb and mosque, not far from the court-yard where in cold blood he slaughtered five hundred Mamelukes, and established his reign.

The land is filled from end to end with the records of the early kings. And yet so completely was the clew to their writing lost, that modern scholars were wholly unable to grasp the now intelligible statement of Clement of Alex-

andria concerning it, and began their investigations completely in the dark. For the first impulse to these fruitful investigations we may thank that extraordinary figure in modern history, who carried restless activity wherever he set his foot. It was the first Napoleon, whose officer, Bouchard, in the construction of his redoubt near Rosetta, stumbled upon the famous tri-lingual stone that now lies in the British Museum. It was his scholars who brought back the first copy of the Ritual of the Dead from the tombs of Thebes, and who, by their celebrated *Description de l'Égypte*, roused the attention of Europe. It was a marvellous triumph of human skill to unlock and read a tongue of which at first not even the nature of the language was known, not a word, not a letter, not even whether it were written in letters at all. And abundant as are the writings, it will be perhaps a still greater and higher work of genius to construct from them all a complete, continuous, and consistent history of Egypt out of the chaotic, disconnected, and dateless mass of material.

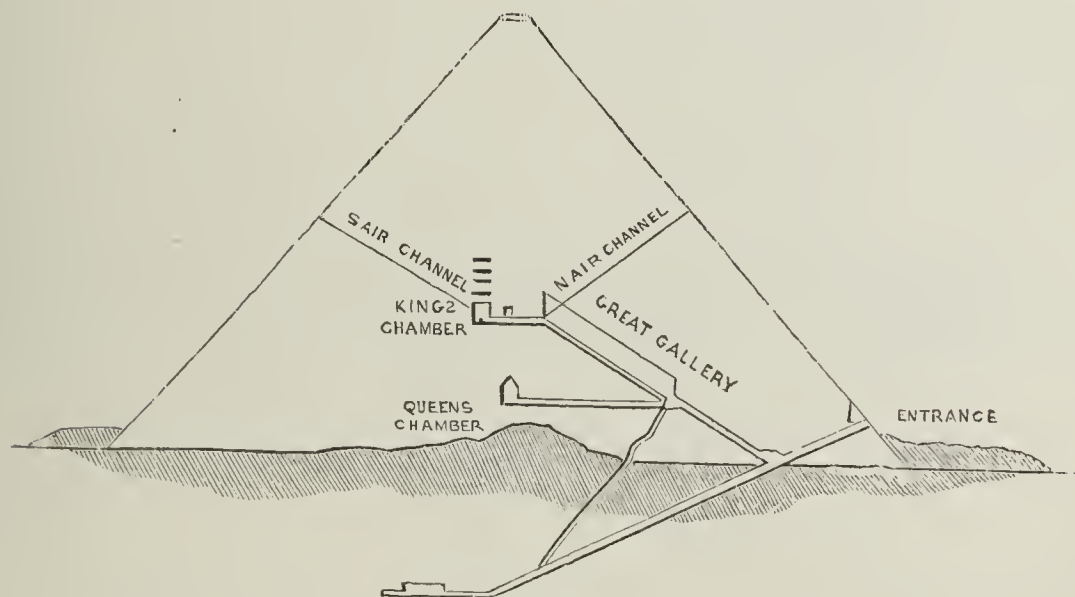
These materials of history are found carved, painted, and written in the temples and tombs, in the writings and objects of art deposited with the dead, along the whole extent of the Nile in and above Egypt. Some of these vast buildings were at points which for the time were seats of government, as Thebes, Memphis, Abydos (or Thinis), Sais, Bubastis, Zoan, Elephantine; others at selected spots, such as the beautiful Island of Philæ, Denderah, Esneh, Kom Ombos. Speaking in a general way, the monuments of Lower Egypt precede in age. The pyramids near Memphis are far older than the temples at Thebes; and still later than these last are the temples of Philæ, Elephantine, Esneh, Erment, Kom Ombos, and Denderah. One of the earliest fruits of hieroglyphic investigation was to prove that the temple at Den-

derah, in which a zodiac, carved overhead, was supposed, from its relation to the ecliptic, by the early French scholars, to be fifteen or seventeen thousand years old, was really only of the times of the early Roman emperors, whose royal rings were read by Champollion in the vicinity, and that the portico of the temple was built by Tiberius.

The pyramids and tombs and temples have been too often described to justify any further description here. The number of the pyramids has been estimated variously, many of them being only ruins. Lepsius reckons about sixty, including some very small ones. They are found in three chief groups, in the neighborhood of Gheezeh at the north, of Sakkarah and Dashoor in the middle, and of Illahoon and neighborhood at the south. The greater part of them lie within a distance of about twenty miles. Those of Gheezeh, as is well known, are far the largest. They are now generally conceded to be tombs, and only tombs, notwithstanding the endeavor of some writers to find in them standards of measurement and other uses.⁷

⁷ A very extraordinary volume was published in 1864 by Professor Piazzzi Smyth, Astronomer Royal of Scotland, entitled "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid." His theory is, that "Divine Inspiration both suggested and gave its characteristic perfection to the metrology of the Great Pyramid" "ages before the time of Moses, or even of Abraham," "that its erection was directed by the fiat of Infinite Wisdom, and that it contained the lasting records of one of those early revelations to primitive men" (pp. 315, 316, 388). He finds in the angles of its passages "latitude indications;" in its various dimensions a standard of measure bearing an exact proportion to the circumference of the earth, also "indicating the shape as well as the size of the earth" (p. 44); in its sarcophagus, a standard measure of capacity and weight, also related to the mass and density of the earth (p. 144); in its passages, gallery, and hall, a standard symbol of time, in days, weeks, months, and years, with a leap-year (pp. 270-274). He goes to such lengths as to find specific allusions to these things in the Old and New Testaments. Thus in Job xxxviii. 4-7, and Zech. iv. 7, the "corner-stone" laid when "the morning-stars sang together," the "head-stone brought out with shoutings, Grace, grace unto it," was the top-

The ascent of the Great Pyramid has become a sufficiently commonplace affair. There is no danger, and, to a person of moderate vigor, no difficulty. You learn to appreciate the size of the huge pile as it looms up before you during the drive of an hour and a half from Cairo. As you approach, a score of Arabs crowd around to help in various



SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID.

ways, and all for the perpetual "backsheesh." The sheikh in charge assigns you three men, to whom you surrender yourself more or less, as you please. If you choose to have

stone of the Great Pyramid (pp. 360-2); and even the passage Eph. ii. 7 is "an unmistakable allusion to the pyramid" (p. 363). All this extravagance is mingled with many utterances of religious zeal, which make it the more to be regretted. General Sir Henry James, of the British Ordnance Survey, in his brief Notes on the Great Pyramid (1869) has punctured this bubble summarily, but satisfactorily. He shows that the angle of the passages was simply "the angle of rest," adapted to the most convenient admission of the sarcophagus, and the dimensions were "simple geometrical problems." The computations referred to he designates "rotehats about numbers," commonly not having even the merit of accuracy in reckoning, nor agreement in the testimony of facts. He well characterizes such arguments as "extravagant nonsense." All the leading modern investigators, *e.g.*, Birch, Brugsch, Lepsius, Mariette, agree that these buildings were simply tombs, built, however, in accordance with Egyptian standards of measurement, in which the cubit appears to be 20.7 inches.



THE PYRAMIDS.

it so, one takes you by the right hand and one by the left, while the third occasionally applies the *vis a tergo*, you scarcely bending your joints; and so they will tug you up the layers of stones that are often more than breast high; or you can take it more slowly, and climb very comfortably by yourself. But as you toil your way upward, heated and panting, you begin to comprehend what a mountain of masonry you are climbing; a solid mass of huge granite blocks, originally higher than any other building of man, and about three-fifths of a mile in circuit, and yet not a stone-chipping to be found in the vicinity. It is a fine Oriental scene from the summit, up and down the Nile, exhibiting Cairo and its minarets in full sight. The entrance of the pyramid is a much more disagreeable process than the ascent. Through dust and heat a hard and often slippery passage slopes downward, then upward, three hundred and forty feet, and

enters a dark chamber in the heart of this great mass of stone; and in it is a well-battered chest of red granite, that perhaps once contained the mummy of King Cheops, or Chufu. But, alas! all this pile of masonry could not keep his bones.

While in the heart of this dreary mass of stone is the Arab's opportunity. He has, perhaps, persuasively suggested the word "backsheesh" at several of the harder stations without, in ascending or descending. But now he sometimes enforces his petition by extinguishing the tapers in this frightful hole. The company in which I went was too numerous and formidable for the experiment; but two gentlemen from the same hotel, who entered the pyramid separately, were welcomed to the "King's Chamber" in this mode. One of them—a timid elderly German—was literally fleeced of all the money he had about him. The other—a young and vigorous American—raised his heavy cane so fiercely at the beginning of the process that his Arabs tumbled over each other in their fright, and surrendered unconditionally.

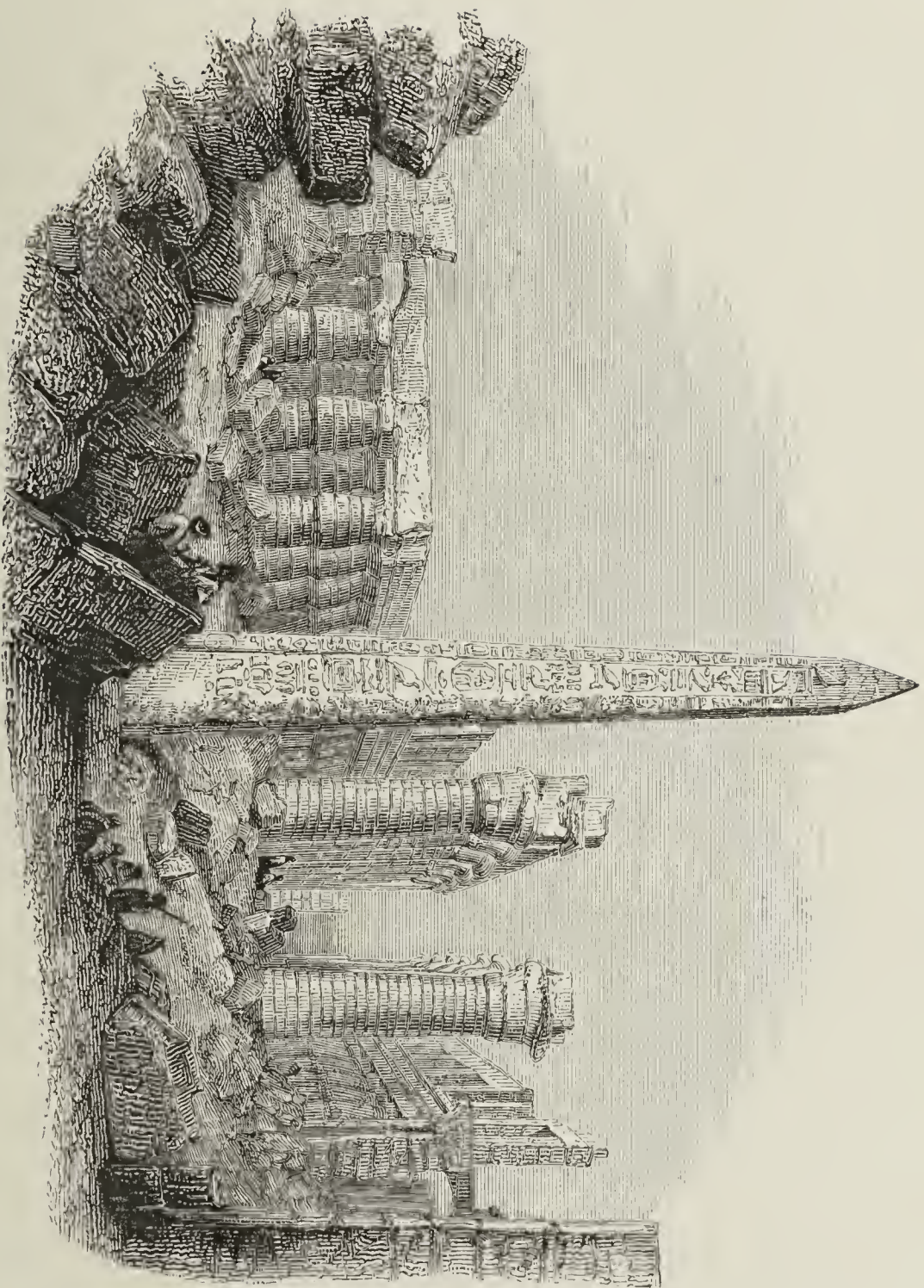
In conceiving of an Egyptian temple, we must remember that it is not a place of assembly for public worship, but the shrine of a god, or commonly of a triad of gods. A pylon, or grand gate-way, admitted sometimes to a double row of sphinxes, and this to a propylon, another great gate-way in the middle of a long massive wall; then came an open court or courts, with statues or obelisks, and rows of columns; and still beyond a series of large rooms, dimly lighted by small openings in the roof, or at the angle of the roof and wall. Around these large rooms were smaller ones, and there were also hidden passages in the walls and secret chambers beneath. The vast columns are variously carved, sometimes with capitals like a papyrus, or a lotus-bud or flower. Walls,

ceiling, and columns were carved with sculptures and hieroglyphics; and even the darkest passages and subterranean chambers that I wound through at Denderah were all polished and delicately carved. Besides the completeness of the finish, one is still more surprised, and at times amazed, at the immensity of this accumulation. Particularly is this the case at Thebes, where statues are found with the fingers four feet long; sphinxes, originally by the thousand; obelisks by the half-dozen; propylons as long as a city block and as tall as a church-steeple; columns large enough to contain a Zulu dwelling, with its occupants sleeping at full length, foot to foot, across the centre; and in one instance a temple, or rather mass of temple nearly a quarter of a mile in length, every part of it elaborately wrought and covered with carvings and hieroglyphics.⁸ The entire effect of this vast congress of buildings is oppressively grand. Before such enormous masses of walls and columns, and acres of carved workmanship, all other buildings necessarily seem small.

The tombs of the kings and men of rank are on a scale somewhat proportionate. A series of chambers and passages extending eight hundred feet into the solid rock is itself a small village. But it must also be remembered that the great mass of the dead were packed away in their ruder catacombs by the hundred and the thousand, tier upon tier. In nothing is the contrast between the people and the monarchs more completely signalized than in the mud hovels of the poor, every vestige of which has melted away, and the almost imperishable buildings of the Pharaohs; and in the

⁸ The great temple at Karnak is 1180 feet from front to rear; its pylon 370 feet in length, 140 feet in height, and 50 feet thick; 12 central columns of the 134 in its wonderful "Hall of Columns" are $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. It contains two fallen and two standing obelisks, 75 and 92 feet in height (besides two others at Luxor, one of which has been moved to Paris), and its avenues are estimated to have contained some 4000 sphinxes.

GREAT HALL AT KARNAK.



difference whereby the deceased monarch lay alone in his vast palace, and the common dead were hustled away promiscuously, and piled up, like so much rubbish, in a common storehouse.

All these objects are now brought so easily before the eye of the traveller by the steamer trip, that to go up the Nile is almost one of the fashions at present. If one has plenty of money and leisure, the "dahabeeah" (Nile boat) is an admirable method of dreaming away two or three winter months in the open air of a delicious climate. It has its disadvantages, sailing with the wind only, by day or by night, tugged along by hard labor when the wind is adverse, and occasionally spending days, or even a week, on a bar. The steamer runs only by daylight, and hastens along directly to the places of special interest. Still, even the steamer will sometimes run aground; and we lay one whole day helpless in the mud. We were lifted off by the forced labor of the villagers, who at first had fled at the sight. But in vain; the Khédive's order brought them back to three hours of toil in mud and water.

The traveller who goes in either way gets, after all, but a rapid glance at the wonderful monuments upon the Nile. Three days or three weeks at Thebes are entirely inadequate. The scholar, in either case, after satisfying his eye, and, as it were, grasping the scene, must fall back upon the labors of Wilkinson, Rosellini, Lepsius, and others, for his deliberate *study*.

What there is of modern Egypt is, alas, soon seen. One dirty Arab town with its mud-brick houses, multiplied by two, three, or ten, stands essentially for any other. The scenes that are Oriental, or simply Egyptian, however picturesque, vary only within a limited circle. Solemn camels, of which I have seen eighty in one long file; diminutive

donkeys, odd costumes, naked boys, and the eternal din of "backsheesh," soon become familiar. One speedily sees all there is of agricultural life: the irrigation from the Nile by basket, shadoof, or ox-power water-wheels; the fields divided like a chess-board to receive the water; the ploughing of ox and ass together, with a plough that has not improved in three thousand years; the threshing by oxen; the winnowing-fan, two women grinding at the mill, as well as the ass millstone (Mark ix. 42, Greek), the dom-trees, acacias, and feathery palm-groves.

The scenery of the Nile, as far as the first cataract, is also, roughly speaking, one long-continued reiteration of three or four different views, with modifications more or less, all thoroughly Oriental and unique; a narrow strip of fertile valley lining a broad placid river, and enclosed on one side or on both sides by sandy bluffs or long ranges of horizontal sandstone or limestone strata, sometimes high, notched, and jagged in the outline, with frequent palm-groves rising against the horizon, and less frequent mud-villages dotting the dead level of the plain. The sugar-cane and cotton relieve the monotony of the ancient culture, while here and there the tall chimneys of the Khédive's sugar-mills hold out the mocking sign of an industry that benefits chiefly the owner's pocket. The sight of the Arab population, from one end of Egypt to the other, strikes one as that of a fine race groaning under a government that with borrowed money builds palaces and sugar-mills, runs its costly operas, grinds the poor with oppressive taxation, and does almost nothing for their real elevation.

I never before so realized, as in this Nile trip, the splendid natural advantages which made Egypt the cradle of civilization, and caused it to play, for some thousands of years, so important a part in the world's history. Where is

there a land like it? A long strip of bottomless soil, all of it lying within a little more than an hour's walk of a great navigable stream, which pierces it from end to end; that soil receiving an annual top-dressing which supersedes manures, and without a stone to break the coulter of a wooden plough; a climate that *necessitates* but the slightest clothing; an atmosphere so dry as never to wash away a mud-brick house; the whole surface of the ground annually watered with almost the regularity of a clock; the useful metals, if not within its borders, yet within easy reach by land and sea, in Nubia, Arabia, and the lands of the Mediterranean—what more was needed for an early, rapid, long development? The chief danger was that the natives coveted such a “happy valley;” and the Hyksos, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Turks sought to seize it.

And yet in the Nile trip we are made to apprehend vividly the narrow limits of the land. A shrewd but skeptical gentleman, who had spent seventeen years in Egypt, made to me the suggestive remark, that he was as much puzzled to dispose of three thousand as of five thousand years of old Egyptian history; for it was impossible to understand where the accumulated population of such a period could find room in a territory which above Cairo is not more than ten miles wide, and often far less. These questions of chronology still wait for thorough solution. They can wait.

A Biblical scholar cannot make the Nile excursion so rapidly as not to derive a fresh interest in these events of hoary antiquity, and a new sense of their near presence. He is made to feel that at a bound he has passed over the times not only of Caliph Omar, or even of Cleopatra, but of Alexander and Cambyses, on the soil where they were modern invaders. At Cairo he has seen (in the museum) the statue of Tirhaka, the King of Ethiopia (2 Kings

xix. 9), and probably that of Menephta, whom many believe to be the ill-fated monarch of the Exodus. At Beni-Hassan he looks upon the bearded Asiatic faces, once supposed to be Jacob's sons, but now known to be more ancient than they. Here, too, are drawn the sports and the domestic life of that far-off time, and the agriculture, with its plough so nearly that of the modern Arab. Here, too, is the veritable prototype of the Doric column, a thousand years or more before the siege of Troy. In the tombs at Asyoot I saw a picture—the only one in the world—of those huge shields, such as Xenophon describes only about twenty-two hundred years ago, as the shield of the Egyptians. The temple of Abydos is carved all over inside with the name of Rameses, in whose reign possibly Moses was born; and in one room he is to be seen offering homage and worship to a selection of fifty of his royal predecessors—a moderate ancestry. Next in order up the Nile was Denderah and its beautiful temple, where one studies out on the ceiling the signs of the zodiac, once made famous by a great controversy which was thought to affect the Biblical chronology, now found to be baseless. Here, too, is the bass-relief portrait of the vile and versatile Cleopatra; but it suggests no hint of beauty. Next follows Thebes with its bewildering wealth of antiquities. How can one even mention all its objects of interest?—those tombs so crowded with the delineations of daily life, down to the thirteen-stringed harp that cheered the monarch ages ago; the Memnonium and its vast broken statue, measuring twenty-three feet across the shoulders, fit image of the colossal ambition of Rameses II., its subject; the temple of Medeenet Haboo, and its savage scenes of forgotten warfare; the little temple of Dayr el Medeeneh, with its clear and clean-cut delineation of the judgment of the soul after

death; the two great colossi, sitting solitary and dumb, though "vocal" once to the superstitious ear. Here, too, one sees occasional bricks mixed with chopped straw;⁹ and I saw fifty women at a funeral, shrieking, but not quite with the "grievous mourning" of the Egyptians.¹⁰

On the other side of the river, in that enormous temple, or congeries of temples, at Karnak, the hugest specimen of architecture that the world knows, Sheshonk, or Shishak,¹¹ stands receiving his captives, among whom is a representative of "Judah." Tirhaka's name is carved on a column; Seti conquers Kanana (Canaan); and Thothmes III. enumerates among his tributaries "Cush" and the "Aperu." At the sandstone quarries of Silsileh one reads the name of Menephta and his father cut in the neighboring grottoes. At Assouan still more ancient monarchs have set their marks, and the old builders have left unfinished in the quarry a huge red granite obelisk ninety-five feet long. The romantic island of Philæ, and its temple with gayly painted ceiling and columns, and its copy of the decree on the famous Rosetta stone, close the moving diorama; and the traveller turns homeward, knowing that he has walked with the ages of the past, held converse with the once mighty dead in their own chosen scenes, and looked right in on the contemporaries of the kings, prophets, and patriarchs of the Bible.

When this outline is filled up with all the details and customs of life which these monuments unfold, it is astonishing to see how full the brief patriarchal narrative is of what may be called reminiscences of Egypt. The two records coalesce alike in what they contain and what they do not contain, in what they assert and in what they imply.

⁹ Exod. v. 7.

¹⁰ Gen. i. 11.

¹¹ 1 Kings xiv. 25.

This singular and often recondite interlacing of Biblical and monumental history becomes increasingly apparent with every new research. The state of the arts and manufactures, the methods of agriculture, the condition of social and civil life, stand mutually responsive in the two histories, with a remarkable and often subtle coincidence. And thus, whereas fifty years ago it was the fashion to sneer at the errors in the Scripture narrative of Egypt, the pendulum has swung wholly to the other side, and men now descant with equal coolness on the wonderful extent to which Jewish customs and institutions were directly borrowed from Egypt.

CHAPTER IV.

PHARAOH.

EXCEPTING Cæsar, there has been no prouder royal name than Pharaoh, and no haughtier monarchy than that before which Abraham and Moses stood in Egypt. The nation boasted in the days of Diodorus Siculus, with some exaggeration, that for forty-seven hundred years they had been governed mostly by native princes, and had been the most prosperous nation in the world.¹ They alleged the fact as proving the superiority of their laws. They could and did claim, without contradiction, to have been the instructors of the nations, the school to which Orpheus and Homer, Pythagoras and Solon, alike resorted. Letters, laws, geometry, astronomy, the arch, the Doric column, and the lyre were among the things that the Greeks saw in Egypt before the dawn of their own brilliant history.

If an ancestry older than all history, unequalled massiveness of architecture, a wonderful development of natural resources, wide conquests, vast wealth, despotic power, and magnificence of state, could be just grounds of pride, then had the Pharaoh reason to be proud. The nation viewed him as the embodiment of all its ancient grandeur. He was "the son of the sun," "the image of the god Ra among men,"² himself descended from the gods. He would seem after death to have joined the gods; for the Table of Aby-

¹ Diodorus Siculus, i. 68.

² In the inscriptions.

dos and the Chamber of the Ancestors represent the living monarch worshipping his own long line of ancestors, and again and again does some deceased monarch receive offerings from the living.³ The name Pharaoh, once supposed to mean "the king," then "the sun" (Ph-ra), has more recently been interpreted, "the great house," somewhat like "the Sublime Porte."⁴

We cannot well appreciate the position of Moses except as in some degree we comprehend the exaltation of Pharaoh. A distant awe surrounded the monarch. Priests and nobles were his body-servants, and their service was singularly abject. One of them has gratefully recorded his privilege of wearing sandals in the palace. The monarch's authority, in theory, was despotic. There were limits to his power in the accidental influence of his officers, and also, according to Diodorus, in the cumbrous restrictions imposed by the greatness of his condition. Pharaoh was Egypt. The Egyptian language is not known to have contained a word corresponding to the familiar term "people" of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; nor do the monuments contain an intimation of the royal function, so prominent in the Psalms and prophecies, of caring for the poor and oppressed, and maintaining the rights of the lowly. He was not for the nation, but the nation for him. Indeed, he

³ *E. g.*, Seti I., or Rameses I., from Rameses II.; Thothmes I. from Thothmes III.

⁴ Josephus interpreted it "the king," and many scholars follow him, connecting the word with the Coptic *Ph-ouro*, "the king." Rosellini, Rawlinson, Lepsius, Poole, have held that it is *Ph-ra*, "the sun." But Rougé, Brugseh, Ebers, observe that both the Hebrew and the hieroglyphies divide the syllables, not as *Pha-raoh*, "the sun," but as *Phar-aoh*, "great house, or houses," in accordance with the statement of Herapollo, i. 61, that the hieroglyphic group means *οἶκος μέγας*. See Brugseh, *Histoire d'Égypte* (second edition), p. 35; Speaker's Commentary, ii. 479; Ebers' *Egypt, und die Bücher Moses*, p. 264. Rougé first made the suggestion.

“meets and embraces the gods themselves in his sculptures,” says Mr. William Palmer, “more as a brother and an equal, than with any humility as a worshipper.”

All the pictorial representations exhibit the monarch in the glory of greatness.

He goes through elaborate coronation ceremonies, and receives the royal insignia from the god Amun Re. He sacrifices to the gods, and is the object of their special care and attendance. He rides in his chariot. He smites down his enemies. He receives the captives, the spoils, and the tribute. He surveys the great heap of thousands of human hands or tongues, and distributes rewards to his hosts. He slaughters lions with his arrows and spear. Occasionally he is seen, surrounded by the ladies of his harem,

bringing flowers, and once he is playing at draughts with his queen. His residence was both palace and temple. The



WOODEN STATUE—REFERRED BY MARIETTE BEY TO THE FOURTH DYNASTY.

imagination can scarcely conceive a greater contrast than between the mud-built houses of the people and the stupendous piles erected by the monarchs. In death their greatness followed them to their sumptuous tombs.

What the pyramids were to the earlier dynasties, the vast rock-hewn tombs of Thebes were to the latter, especially from the seventeenth to the twenty-sixth. Here, in subterranean palaces of immense extent, were laid to rest the Pharaoh of the earlier oppression, and many of his ancestors and successors. There are said to be nearly fifty of these royal tombs. But it is a noteworthy comment on the fate of human pride, that few of these tombs are completed.⁵

I visited four of these royal tombs (of Seti I., Rameses III., VI., and IX.), and one of a private person (Petamunoph), the last of which penetrates into the rock, though not wholly in the same direction, to the enormous distance of eight hundred and sixty feet—one-third more than the length of St. Peter's—and is constructed with many lateral chambers. We penetrated this last one till the bats drove us back. Through a succession of stairways and passages, you reach at length one or more main halls, one of which originally contained the sarcophagus. Nearly every part of these walls is covered with hieroglyphics and bass-relief sculptures and paintings. Here, says Renan, "the dead lift up their voice and tell the tale of their whole life." One finds here a more complete and exact representation of Egyptian life three or four thousand years ago than we can get of American life two hundred and fifty years ago. We see their agriculture in every stage; the whole range of their kitchen-cookery; their armor of every description; their feasts and pompous funeral processions; their mechan-

⁵ E. L. Clarke, in his *Daleth*, p. 231, says: "Not a single tomb is finished." This may be too strong.

ic arts—the manufacture of furniture, ropes, bricks, shoes, glass; their sports and athletic games. Here harpers play on their gayly-colored harps; female dancers entertain the guests; servants anoint their heads, or hand them the wine-cup and the lotus.

These and other disclosures make it evident that the monarchs of the oppression and the Exodus were surrounded by the fruits of conquest, the products of skill, the luxuries of wealth, the arts of civilization, and the comforts of domestic life, in a variety and extent wholly unparalleled in that remote age, and well calculated to fill them with all the pride of power. These huge piles of architecture were scattered at intervals for more than seven hundred miles along the valley of the Nile, from San to Aboo Simbel; and, to say nothing of their number, the world has yet seen no such mountainous accumulations of stone as at Gheezeh, nor any such amazing mass of Titanic architecture as at Karnak. The workmen of the Pharaohs covered with deep, clear carvings a multitude of columns, now so hard that a few lines of inscription are said to have turned the edge of the best tools in Paris: their engineers laid stone lintels, forty feet in length, high in the air; set up obelisks ninety feet high and eight feet square; and transported and safely handled the great granite statue that weighed near nine hundred tons; their sculptors could cut a hill of rock into an enormous sphinx of admirable proportions, or could carve a wooden block into the statue of a village sheikh, “with a truth, grace, and fidelity which shows the hand of a great master.”⁶ Their jewellers could skilfully work the

⁶ Birch's History of Egypt, p. 44. This most remarkable statue in the Boulak Museum is of very great antiquity. The seated statue of Cephrenes is very admirable. They are hundreds of years anterior to the dawn of Grecian sculpture. Mariette Bey ascribes to the former an age of six thousand years. See foot-note on p. 38.

precious metals into elaborate ornaments, and could delicately carve names and figures on the hardest stones. Many hundred years before the siege of Troy there stood, where there still stands, at the tombs of Beni-Hassan, the pattern of the Doric shaft. The great canal connecting the Nile and the Red Sea dates back probably farther than the time of the Exodus, and earlier yet was the construction of the celebrated Lake Moëris, and the vast engineering works along the Nile, to regulate the irrigation of the land.⁷ Arches of crude brick belong to the time of Thothmes III., and even of Amunoph I., and the stone arch is found in the seventh century before Christ.⁸

The hieroglyphics that cover the buildings of the Pharaohs are older than any known form of writing, and seem to have been the origin of the principle of the alphabet, although our completed alphabet came to us through those great traders, the Phœnicians. The Egyptians wrote on papyrus, and gave us thence the name "paper;" and they used parchment, it would appear, ages before it took its name from Pergamus.⁹

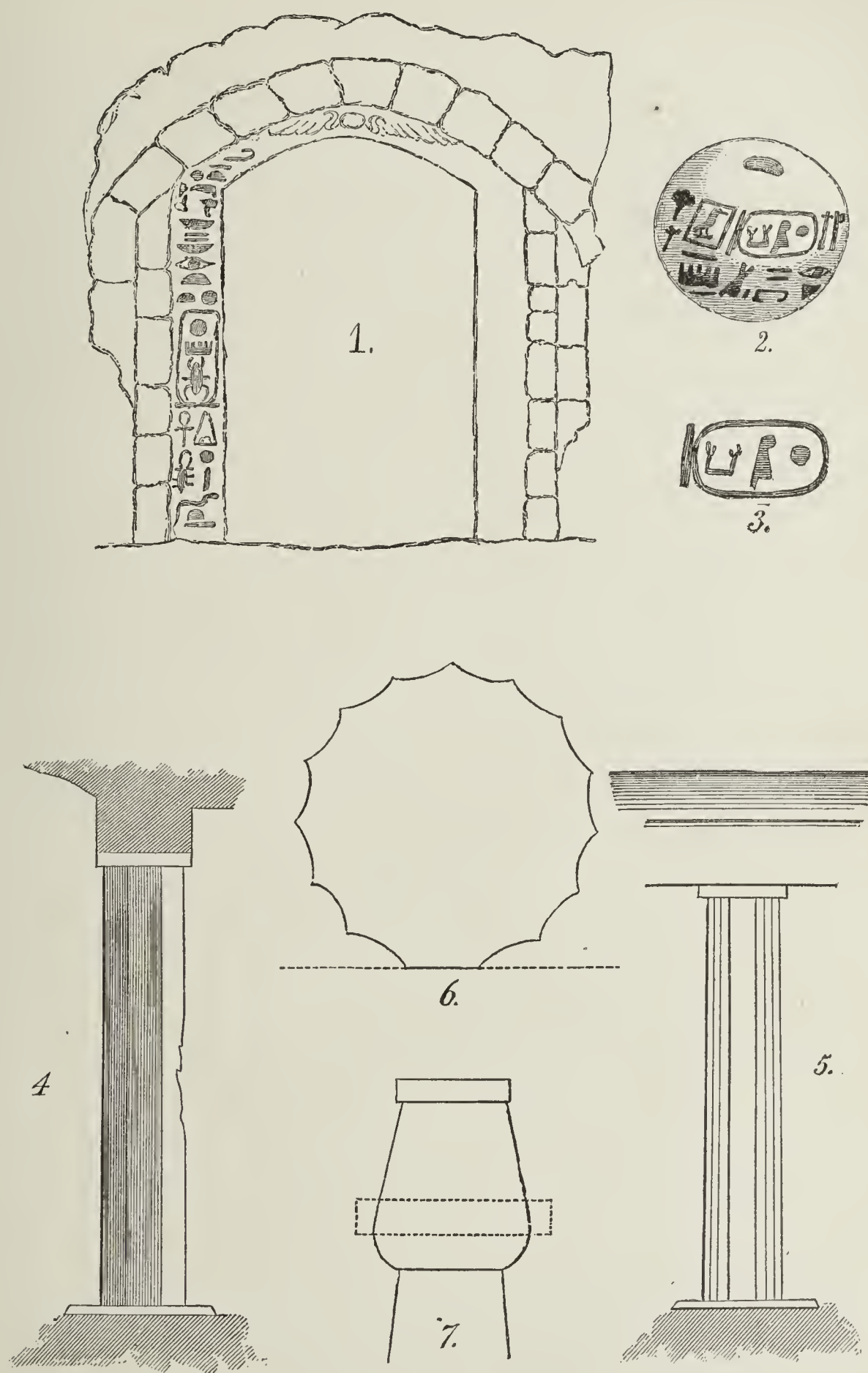
Four thousand years ago glass was manufactured, and employed for beads and bottles. The process of blowing it can still be seen depicted at Beni-Hassan; and a glass bead exists, neatly engraved in clear, sharp hieroglyphics, with the name of Amun-m-het, fourteen hundred and fifty years before Christ. They could imitate in glass the amethyst and other precious stones; and Wilkinson found mock pearls at Thebes difficult of detection with a strong lens.¹⁰

⁷ Lepsius distinguishes successive stages of the construction of the canal from the time of Rameses to that of Darius.

⁸ Sharpe's *Egypt*, i. 162; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 300.

⁹ Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 98) says, twelve hundred years previous.

¹⁰ Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 59, 64.



EGYPTIAN ART.

Fig. 1. Arch bearing name of Thothmes III. ; 2. Glass bead, about 1450 B.C. ; 3. Inscription on bead, "Amun-m-het;" 4, 5. Columns at Beni-Hassan ; 6. Section of No. 5 ; 7. Egyptian capital, showing origin of the Doric.



Egyptian bronze was of excellent quality, and wrought into a great variety of utensils and weapons, although the remains of Troy reveal it in the scantiest amounts.¹¹ The knives and daggers had an elastic spring like steel, which, according to Wilkinson, they retain to this day.¹² Silver wire is thirty-three hundred years old, and gold wire six hundred years older.¹³ Iron and steel seem also to be represented in the paintings. Gold was used for gilding, overlaying, and inlaying, and even for stopping the teeth, as is shown in some of the Theban mummies.¹⁴ Linen thread was made fine enough to contain 540 threads in an inch of warp, although but 110 in an inch of woof,¹⁵ and entirely clear, says Wilkinson, of the knots and breaks that can be detected on holding our best cambric to the light. They used mordants in dyeing,¹⁶ veneered with glue, and painted with colors, although wholly ignorant of perspective. The household furniture, as delineated in the paintings, was much of it tasteful, and some of it elegant—sofas, chairs, and couches. Vases abounded in various forms and all manner of materials—gold, silver, brass, bronze, ivory, alabaster, porcelain, bone, as well as glazed pottery or earthenware. Musical instruments were abundant and diversified—cymbals, drums, trumpets, flutes, pipes, guitars, harps, the last two of widely different shapes and sizes, and with strings varying from four to twenty-two. Those in the “Harper’s Tomb” were very like a modern instrument in shape.

One of the most remarkable proofs of the early development of Egypt is its art of sculpture. And here it is a singular fact that its earliest known works are the best. The

¹¹ Schliemann’s *Troy and its Remains*, p. 22.

¹² Wilkinson’s *Ancient Egyptians*, i. 148.

¹⁴ *Ib.* ii. 145, 350.

¹⁵ *Ib.* ii. 80.

¹³ *Ib.* ii. 82.

¹⁶ *Ib.* ii. 83.

wooden statue of the village sheikh is a striking specimen. The sitting statue of King Cephrenes (Shafra) has also attracted no little admiration. It is cut from the hardest diorite. The king sits in his chair, and behind him stands a hawk with outspread wings. The arms of the chair terminate in lions' heads, and on its sides are twined the lotus and papyrus of Upper and Lower Egypt. One of the monarch's hands lies open on his thigh, the other holds a papyrus roll; and the mild, firm face conveys the impression of a genuine portrait.

No less indicative of high attainment in art is their proved skill in metallurgy, jewelry, and the cutting of precious stones. An immense number of articles of virtue from Egypt are now scattered through the world—stones delicately cut and engraved, rings, beads, ear-rings, necklaces, and the like. It was only in 1859 that Mariette Bey found in a tomb at Thebes the superb collection of jewelry that belonged to Queen Aah-Hotep, much older than the Exodus. No visitor of the Boulak Museum has failed of seeing it. There are nearly forty different objects, elaborately, and some of them elegantly, wrought. The taste is Egyptian, but the workmanship is almost modern. Here is a gold necklace of half a dozen strands, composed of lions, jackals, stags, hawks, vultures, winged snakes, flowers, and other objects; a diadem, of which the central part is a royal signet flanked by two sphinxes; a bracelet, one half representing a vulture with spread wings, the play of the feathers imitated by lapis lazuli, cornelian, and green glass set in gold, and the other half formed of two parallel bands, adorned with turquoises of peculiar design; a gold chain, almost a yard long, of extreme flexibility, each end terminating in a goose's head, while from the middle hangs a scarabæus of massive gold, of which the claws are the ex-

actest imitation of the living creature, and are soldered to the body, and the corslet and wings are of blue paste streaked with gold; a beautiful dagger and case, the circumference of the blade made of solid gold, and the inner part of some hard, dark metal, damaskeened with figures, among them a lion springing upon a bull, and four locusts, diminishing in size with the taper of the blade, the handle of the dagger tessellated with triangles of gold, lapis, cornelian, and feldspath, and the wooden pommel stamped in gold leaf with four female heads; a boat of gold, having two cabins, twelve silver rowers, and three personages of gold aboard; three or four other bracelets, various necklaces, daggers, chains, and ornaments of a nondescript character; all constituting a remarkable exhibition of ancient art.

The Pharaohs boasted of their wide conquests, too. Before the first great pyramid was built, King Snefru had his miners at work at Wady Maghâra, and the names of the Pharaohs were recorded at the mines of Sarabit el Khadim after the Exodus. The twelfth dynasty conquered Ethiopia and brought gold from Nubia. For a time, indeed, Southern Egypt was wrested from them by Asiatic invaders, the shepherd kings, who made their capital at Sâh.¹⁷ But they were expelled by Aahmes, or Amosis, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty and of the New Empire, and the ancient authority of the Pharaohs restored.¹⁸ His successor, Thothmes I., invaded Syria and the borders of Mesopotamia.

¹⁷ They form, according to Manetho, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties.

¹⁸ The divisions of the empires are not agreed upon. Thus, Birch carries the New Empire only to the end of the sixth dynasty, Mariette to the end of the tenth. Both make the Middle Empire end with the seventeenth dynasty. Birch suggests that the repetition of names from the eleventh into the eighteenth dynasties indicates that they were not separated by any great interval of time. But Mariette admits no such proximity.

Thothmes III. passed through Gaza, fortified Megiddo, marched along the Sea of Galilee, subdued Northern Syria, put a fleet on the Euphrates, and conquered Mesopotamia. He records his tribute as coming from Ethiopia on the south, Armenia on the north, India on the east, and the Archipelago on the west. He overran North-western Asia, and avers in his inscriptions that he placed his boundaries where he pleased. An obelisk of his now stands in the circus of Constantinople, another at Rome, another ("Cleopatra's Needle") at Alexandria, and yet another in London. His successors found it a fresh task to reconquer the rebellious provinces.

Among the more remarkable of them was Seti I. (of the nineteenth dynasty), whose obelisk, placed by himself at Heliopolis, now stands in the Piazza del Popolo at Rome, and his alabaster sarcophagus lies in the Sloane Museum at London. His sculptured battle-scenes in the great temple of Karnak represent him as invading Canaan (*Kanana*), receiving homage in Armenia, conquering the Syrians (*Rutennu*), and dragging their chiefs at his chariot wheels, while the Hittites (*Khita*), the Ionians, Mesopotamia, Southern Arabia, parts of Central Asia, and tribes of Nubia and Abyssinia, are among his captives.

But the most remarkable of all, in some respects, was the reign of Seti's son, Rameses II., frequently called the Pharaoh of the oppression. Its immense length, sixty-seven years, gave scope for broad schemes and ambitious achievements. His history, exaggerated and apparently confused more or less with that of Thothmes III., Seti I., and Rameses III., is the foundation of the classic story of the great Sesostris, a name formed from his own popular appellation, Sestesura.¹⁹ As Thothmes III. was the great warrior mon-

¹⁹ Birch's History, p. 125. Bunsen, however, inclines to refer the chief facts to Osirtasen II., whom he thinks the Greeks mistook for Rameses II.

arch, Rameses II. was the great builder. He erected the two splendid temples at Aboo Simbel, the Memnonium (or Rameseum) at Thebes, the smaller temple of Abydos, a great part of that at Luxor, part of Karnak, one at Sâh, and other structures at Memphis and Fayoom. He completed the great wall or chain of fortresses on the eastern border of Egypt, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, which marked the incipient decline of the Egyptian power, and along which Pithom and Rameses are commonly supposed to have lain.²⁰ An obelisk which he placed at Luxor now stands in the Place de la Concorde at Paris, and his name he recorded on rock tablets near the Nahr el Kelb, in Syria. He, too, claimed warlike glories, the chief of which were won in conflict with the Khita of Syria, and among his captures he records "Shaluma," perhaps Salem, the ancient Jerusalem. He was a great boaster, too. In one of his battles with the Khita he was surrounded by 2500 chariots, and was all alone, but fought his way through.²¹ He boastfully inscribed his name everywhere. Says Mariette Bey: "It is impossible, so to speak, to find a ruin in Egypt, or an ancient object, without reading there his name." And thus it often obtrudes itself as impertinently on the monuments as the Pope's name on the buildings at Rome. In his days, as well as those of Thothmes III., the Aperu (supposed by many to be the Hebrews) are mentioned as in a state of servitude, and the subsequent history of Egypt shows them, or a portion of them, still there. He had the enormous number of a hundred and seventy children,²² and the thirteenth of his fifty-nine sons, Menephta, was his successor on the throne.

²⁰ Birch's History, p. 131.

²¹ Ib. 127. Mariette, *Aperçu*, p. 64. It is in the poem of the Pentaur on the walls of Karnak.

²² Lenormant, *Histoire*, i. 423. Mariette, *Aperçu*, p. 60.

Here naturally opens before us the question concerning the time of the oppression and the Exodus, and, incidentally, concerning the dates of Egyptian history. The subject is perplexed and difficult. Brugsch Bey writes, in 1875, that "the difficulties of determining precisely the epochs of Egyptian history, instead of diminishing, increase from day to day, and new questions to resolve mingle in the chronological discussions."²³ This statement might not be accepted by all Egyptologists. But the difficulty would seem to prove itself by the vast diversity of results. Thus, the era of Menes, founder of the first dynasty, is placed by Boeckh 5702 B.C., by Unger 5613, by Mariette Bey 5004, by Brugsch 4455, by Lepsius 3892, by Bunsen 3623, by Birch "about 3000." Here is the enormous difference of 2700 years in computation. It is, to use Brugsch's own comparison, slightly modified, as if scholars five or six thousand years hence should discuss the time when Julius Cæsar came to the throne, some claiming that it took place 824 years before the Christian era, others placing it in the year 1876 after Christ.

The first positive coincidence between Egyptian and Biblical dates is that of the reigns of Solomon in Palestine with that of Shishak (Sheshonk) in Egypt, as mentioned in 1 Kings xi. 40. This was not far from 980 B.C. The estimates of the earlier chronology of Egypt have hitherto hinged chiefly on the statements of one writer, of whom we possess only a few fragments, preserved in somewhat inconsistent forms. I refer to the Egyptian priest Manetho, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247), and who, at the command of his monarch, wrote in Greek a history of his country from the records and monuments. Unfortunately his "three books of Egyptian history" are

²³ *Histoire d'Égypte*, second edition, p. 27.

lost. Josephus, who lived two and a half centuries later, has given us the amount of some ten octavo pages, ostensibly a translation of his statements. Julius Africanus and Eusebius, of the third and fourth centuries after Christ, respectively, preserved the list of dynasties which was appended to his history. A third form of this list is furnished by Syncellus, Vice-Patriarch of Constantinople (about the year 800), who is understood to compile from Africanus and Eusebius, following chiefly the latter, and at the same time severely criticising his treatment of Manetho's list.

Here is room for various and abundant errors, obviously, first, in the transmission—a fact which is well exhibited in the conflict of the several reports. Brugsch remarks of Manetho: “Little known to the classic authors, his work has been quoted in extracts by ecclesiastical writers; and later copyists, whether from error or intention, have changed the names and the figures, till we possess but the débris of Manetho's royal list.”²⁴ As to the character of the writer himself, opinions differ. Though greatly disparaged by some, the present and increasing tendency is to speak of him with respect; if not as “a distinguished historian, sage, and scholar,”²⁵ yet as an “earnest, intelligent, truth-seeking man,”²⁶ “a faithful guide;”²⁷ in regard to whom “the veracity of the original and the authenticity of his sources is proved by the decipherment of the hieroglyphics.”²⁸ Bunsen, however, admits that, besides using the old sacred books and royal lists, he must have had access to annals combining “popular legends and unauthenticated traditions” with “more strictly historical matters,” although he seems in some instances to distinguish the two.²⁹ But as the result

²⁴ *Histoire d'Égypte*, second edition, p. 25.

²⁶ Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 407.

²⁸ Brugsch, *Histoire*, p. 25.

²⁵ Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, i. 57.

²⁷ Mariette, *Aperçu*, p. 14.

²⁹ *Egypt's Place*, i. 98.

of all investigation and comparison with the monuments, Brugsch in his latest utterance declares that, "in spite of all these discoveries, the figures are still in a deplorable state."³⁰ To a considerable extent the lists of Manetho, as already indicated, have been checked and confirmed by various partial lists found on the monuments, which, while they have served to raise his credit, are also materially supplemented and interpreted by the guidance of his connected whole. These lists, however, furnish few indications of time, and are both incomplete and often confused. Among them is the celebrated Turin papyrus, drawn up in the time of Rameses II., intended as an enumeration of the kings from mythological times, but now existing in one hundred and sixty-four small paper fragments. The chamber of the ancestors at Karnak is but a selection of sixty-one kings by Thothmes III., and is badly mutilated. A third of these lists is found on the Table of Abydos, where Rameses II. does homage to fifty of his ancestors (only thirty remaining complete). But this again is a selection, the principle of which is unknown, and the transitions inexplicable. A fourth is the table recently found by Mariette Bey at Sakkarah, in the tomb of a priest of the same reign. This also contains but fifty-eight monarchs, selected on some unknown principle, but fortunately comprising the first six dynasties almost as complete as in Manetho. These four are at present the chief monumental aids for recovering the long series of the Pharaohs. Of themselves they would not go far. But important information has been derived from them.

But besides all other sources of error, there comes at once to the surface the fundamental and much-disputed question, whether and how far both the dynasties and the

³⁰ *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 25, second edition, A.D. 1875.

reigns were successive, or partly contemporaneous. In earlier times the inclination prevailed somewhat strongly to regard these reigns as all successive, and hence to ascribe a marvellous antiquity to the Pharaohs. This was characteristic of the school of Champollion, and is still the method of Mariette Bey, whose principle is to "admit no contemporaneous dynasties."³¹ But it would seem that the plainest proof of the real state of the case is found in the fact that, while the sum total of the reigns, as given by Manetho, amounts to 5462 years, his own statement at the end gives but a period of 3555 years.³² Eminent scholars have been compelled more and more to see the necessity, not only of regarding whole reigns and even dynasties as contemporaneous, but of recognizing many cases of associated reigning. Thus Brugsch in his latest work asserts that "the minute researches to which scholars have subjected the succession of the Pharaohs, and the chronological order of the dynasties, demonstrates the necessity of supposing, in Manetho's list, contemporaneous and collateral dynasties, and so diminishing the sum total."³³ Twenty years ago Bunsen emphatically declared that "the Egyptian priests did not possess a continuous chronology in their history, but only a sum total of regnal years." He sets forth "the probability that the Egyptians, who seem to have taken especial pride in a long array of royal names, introduced into their lists those of each individual prince, who, if a co-regent even, and that for a short time, bore in his family the title of Pharaoh. The lists necessarily annexed to each of such regents the full number of his regnal years. Supposing, therefore, that several reigned co-ordinately — two brothers, for instance,

³¹ *Itinéraire de la Haute-Égypte*, p. 43.

³² Smith's *Student's Ancient History of the East*, p. 58, American edition.

³³ *Histoire*, second edition, p. 25. See also p. 28.

or a father and his son—and all the members to have been added together, the names as well as the years might easily have been doubled, or more than doubled, in any given period; for instance, one of sixty years, with their co-regents, might swell into a hundred and fifty. By such a mode the chronology was necessarily thrown into confusion. This confusion arose also from the circumstance of all the dynasties of the Old and Middle Empires being registered in the succession in which they ranked as Pharaonic races in any part of ancient Egypt. In the New Empire there were no contemporaneous dynasties, because during it Egypt always formed one undivided realm.” But, he adds, “Egypt was incorporated into one empire by the union of more than twenty different provinces, and the very names of the country, ‘the two Egypts,’ ‘the Upper and Lower Country,’ show that the idea of a double State never was lost sight of. The monuments themselves show that the Old Empire was more than once divided. As regards the Middle Empire, it would betray utter heedlessness or total scepticism and misunderstanding of Manetho’s lists, did we not admit that the Hyksos [Shepherd] dynasties were contemporaneous with Egyptian princes, or some of the latter even with each other.”³⁴ Similar statements are repeatedly made by him in detail.

The difficulties that environ the subject are well illustrated by the fact of what Birch calls “a monumental gap,”³⁵ and Mariette “a monumental void”³⁶ from the sixth to the eleventh dynasties, and another from the twelfth to the eighteenth.³⁷ Mariette is obliged to recognize the seventeenth as a double dynasty, shepherd kings reigning at Sâh, and Egyptian monarchs at Thebes; and he is in doubt

³⁴ Egypt’s Place, ii. 4, 5.

³⁶ Aperçu, p. 144.

³⁵ History, p. 58.

³⁷ Birch’s History, p. 76.

whether to place numerous kings in the fourteenth, or in the void between the sixth and the eleventh.³⁸ Birch reckons the seventh and eighth Memphite dynasties as contemporaneous with the ninth and tenth Heracleopolite.³⁹ Brugsch, in his latest work, mentions that the Egyptians ascribed to each Pharaoh the sum total of his regnal years, without making any reductions for simultaneous reigns, and affirms that only from the twenty-sixth dynasty is the chronology founded on exact dates.⁴⁰ He reckons the thirteenth and seventeenth dynasties as collateral with the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth.⁴¹ He speaks of the fact, noticed by Manetho, that the names of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties are found equally on the monuments at the beginning of the eighteenth, that the character of the coffins, ornaments, and style is identical, and that, moreover, in Manetho the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties succeed each other without interval.⁴² Sir Gardner Wilkinson takes the same ground, and cites, with seeming approval, an arrangement of contemporaneous dynasties, suggested by Mr. Lane and adopted by Mr. Poole, thus :

I. Thinites.	II.				
III. Memphites.	IV.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	
	V. Elephantines.				
		IX. Heracleopolites.	X.		
Diospolites.		XI.	XII.	XIII.	XVIII. XIX.
				XIV. Xoites.	
				XV. XVI. Shepherds.	
				XVII. Shepherds.	

³⁸ *Aperçu*, pp. 152, 153.

³⁹ *History*, p. 59.

⁴⁰ *Histoire d'Égypte*, second edition, pp. 84, 25.

⁴¹ *Ib.* p. 25.

⁴² *Ib.* p. 113. Birch calls attention to the identity of the names.

These facts will exhibit the great uncertainty attending, as yet, the whole discussion, the great diversity of opinion, and the folly of speaking positively on this subject in our present state of knowledge. The attempts that have been made (*e. g.*, by Mr. Horner) to determine the time during which Egypt has been occupied from the rate of deposits in the Nile valley, and the depth at which certain objects have been discovered, have been shown by scientific men to be unsatisfactory, because of the uncertain and variable amount of deposit. Fraas, who devotes some space to its refutation, declares it to be time that "this hundred-times-repeated nonsense of the geological books should be once for all discarded, and no longer offered as an argument before the eyes of science, when at most it is fitted to entrap a credulous laity."⁴³ These facts make it evident that Egyptologists must each advance his own solution with modesty.

Not only has there been this diversity in the estimate of the duration of the empire, but an equal difficulty in fixing the date of any part of its earlier history. Within the last few years several prominent writers have placed much reli-

⁴³ Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*, pp. 212, 213. Lane's editor also mentions (*Modern Egyptians*, fifth edition, ii. p. 355) that some of these deepest borings have brought up burnt bricks, which, he maintains, belong only to Roman times. So says Wilkinson (ii. 194), but the collection of the British Museum contains burnt Egyptian bricks, one of the eighteenth and another of the nineteenth dynasty. (Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, p. 37). While, therefore, this circumstance of itself may not be conclusive counter-evidence, yet, for the other reasons indicated, Mr. Lyell regards the argument drawn from the deposits as "founded on insufficient data;" and even Sir John Lubbock finds himself "prevented from accepting unreservedly the conclusions of Mr. Horner" (*Pre-historic Times*, p. 397). Indeed, it is averred (*Recent Origin of Man*, J. C. Southall, 1875, p. 474) that "Sir Robert Stephenson found in the Delta near Damietta, at a greater depth than was ever reached by Mr. Horner, a brick bearing the stamp of Mohammed Ali; also, that "in the deepest boring at the foot of the statue of Rameses II. [at Thebes] there was found the Grecian honeysuckle stamped on some of the supposed palæolithic fragments." The authorities are there cited.

ance upon a supposed fixing of the date of the Sothic cycle, or, as it is sometimes called, the Canicular period.

The Sothic cycle is the period of 1460 years, during which the rising of the Sothis, or dog-star, passed through every portion of the Egyptian year, and returned to the 20th of July. The common Egyptian year consisted of only 365 days, omitting the additional hours. Consequently, though in a certain year Sothis, or Sirius, rose with the sun on a given day in July (called the heliacal rising), this coincidence ceased, and did not recur again on the same day till the annual divergence of six hours became an entire year—that is, in 1460 years. After the lapse of this time the Egyptian new year, which began in July, was marked once more (on the 20th day) by the simultaneous rising of Sirius and the sun. This long interval was the Sothic cycle. Certain hints in the classic writers (Tacitus, Herodotus, and Strabo) are understood to refer to this cycle. Express statements concerning it are found in certain more obscure authors. Thus, Vettius Valens, of the age of the Antonines, says that the Egyptians had a civil and a natural year, the latter commencing at the heliacal rising (ἑπιτολή) of the dog-star. Porphyry, and a scholiast on Aratus, also mention the Egyptian year as commencing with the rising of Sirius. The testimony of Horapollo is understood as indicating the length of this year.⁴⁴ Clement of Alexandria, in his *Stromata*, in the second century, speaks of this Sothic period, and even reckons the date of the Exodus from it.⁴⁵

Now, in the year A.D. 238, the Latin writer Censorinus states that an Egyptian Great or Sothic year—so called, he

⁴⁴ These quotations are given by Bunsen, iii. 53, and by Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 164, *seq.*

⁴⁵ *Stromata*, i. chap. 20: "Moses going forth 345 years before the Sothic period."

says, because on the first day of it Sothis rises heliacally (as he is understood)—commenced in the hundredth year before his time. Reckoning backward 1461 Egyptian years from A.D. 138, or exactly from A.D. 139, would bring us to B.C. 1322, as the beginning of the previous Sothic year. With this now is combined a statement made in the fourth century by Theon, an Alexandrian mathematician, found in an unpublished manuscript at Paris, reading thus: "If we compute the years from Menophres to the end of the Augustan era, we get a sum total of 1605 years. If we add to these the one hundred years which had elapsed since the beginning of the Diocletian era, we get 1705 years."⁴⁶ Now, as the era of Augustus ended A.D. 283, the year of Menophres, which is 1605 years previous, would bring us to this point, 1322 B.C., the beginning of the Sothic year.⁴⁷ But Bunsen, Lepsius, and others claim that Menophres is a misspelling or an equivalent for Menophthes, or Menophtha; that is, Menephta, of the nineteenth dynasty, son and successor of Rameses II. And since they and many modern writers, for reasons presently to be mentioned, regard him as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, the date of that event is supposed by them to be very definitely determined. Bunsen assigns it to the year 1320 B.C., and Lepsius to the year 1314 B.C.; and Ebers remarks concerning the latter date, that it will stand fast in spite of the attempts of Lauth, Reinisch, Unger, Lieblein, and Hitzig to reopen the discussion.⁴⁸

Notwithstanding the confidence with which these writers speak of the subject, it will be perceived that the proof of

⁴⁶ Egypt's Place, iii. 43, 73.

⁴⁷ Lepsius (Chronologie, 170) endeavors to confirm this time by a passage from Pliny (H. N. x. 2), in which, however, he is obliged to assume a change of reading from "two hundred and fifteen" to *twelve* hundred and fifteen, by supposing an M to have been lost from the text.

⁴⁸ Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 525.

the alleged date, of which I have given a summary statement,⁴⁹ might be much more satisfactory. Brugsch, who is sufficiently theoretical in his own line, yet in the last edition of his History writes thus: "Many scholars think they have discovered another expedient for fixing several Egyptian dates, by making use of astronomical calculation. The reign of a King Menophres, under whom, according to an ancient tradition, a new Sothic period commenced in connection with the rising of the star Sirins, the Sothis of the Egyptians, mentioned under three kings of the name of Rameses on contemporaneous monuments of their epoch, and, in fine, some other indications of astronomical character, have given rise to certain very complicated calculations of whose historic value criticism has not said her last word."⁵⁰ It may be added that other claimants have been put forward for this name Menophres.⁵¹ A late writer, Mr. W. B. Galloway, vigorously maintains that the assignment of the beginning of the Sothic period to the year B.C. 1322 is founded on a total misapprehension, and endeavors to show, by elaborate calculations and combinations, that it really began in the year 1685 B.C.⁵²

⁴⁹ There are, of course, many collateral and remoter indications advanced, especially by Lepsius, of which, however, it is difficult for the Anglo-Saxon mind to feel the force. I have endeavored to give above the substance of the direct argument.

⁵⁰ Brugsch, *Histoire*, p. 27, second edition.

⁵¹ Perhaps the view of Champollion and his brother, identifying "Menophres" with Amunoph IV., may be considered obsolete by reason of later researches. But Ernst de Bunsen (*The Chronology of the Bible*, London, 1874) strenuously resists the identification with Menephtha, and advocates that of Dr. Hincks, to the effect that Menophres corresponds completely to the first name of Rameses I., namely, *Men-pch-ra*, of which the value of the second sign or syllable was ascertained after the publication of Lepsius's results. But I observe that the Chevalier Bunsen gives the same name (iii. 544), with only a transposition, thus, *Ra-men-peh*.

⁵² *Egypt's Record of Time*. By W. B. Galloway. London, 1869.

The Christian fathers, Clemens Alexandrinus, Julius Africanus, and others, supposed the Exodus to have taken place under some king of the eighteenth dynasty—a view which has of late been ably defended again. Thus Canon Cook⁵³ assigns the Exodus specifically to the last year of Thothmes II., at a supposed date of B.C. 1647. This opinion would have whatever support can be derived from a statement of Clemens Alexandrinus, who affirms that “Moses went out of Egypt three hundred and forty-five years before the Sothic period,” that is, as Lepsius reckons it, 1667 B.C. But it would, from the Scripture narratives, seem hardly credible that the Israelites could have been in Palestine during the warlike expeditions of Thothmes III. to that country, or even during the times of Seti I. or Rameses II.; the former of whom built fortresses in Canaan,⁵⁴ and the latter of whom invaded Northern Syria, and in the eighth year of his reign took “Shaluma,” probably Jerusalem itself.⁵⁵ And while other tribes of Palestine are mentioned by name, his records contain no allusion to the Israelites as being there. Wilkinson, who once favored this view, which placed the Exodus in the eighteenth dynasty, changed his opinion, and held it to be later than the reign of Rameses II. of the nineteenth.⁵⁶ Sharpe and Mr. William Palmer regard Amunoph II., successor of Thothmes III., as the Pharaoh of the Exodus.⁵⁷ Poole thinks both the oppression and the Exodus took place before the eighteenth dynasty, dismissing Manetho’s story of the Exodus with the

⁵³ Speaker’s Commentary, i. 455, *seq.*

⁵⁴ Birch, History, p. 122.

⁵⁵ *Ib.* p. 128.

⁵⁶ Rawlinson’s Herodotus, ii. 287.

⁵⁷ Sharpe’s History of Egypt, i. 52. Palmer’s Egyptian Chronieles, i. 211, etc. Mr. Palmer reconstructs the chronology chiefly from Syncellus, with the aid largely of Josephus and the Septuagint. He assigns the Exodus to the year B.C. 1654, but recognizes the year B.C. 1622 as the beginning of a Sothic cycle.

remark that it is, "on the testimony of Josephus, who has preserved it to us, wholly devoid of authority," and disposing of the difficulty growing out of the presence of Thothmes III. in Syria, by suggesting "the absence of any positive Palestinean names, except that of the Philistines," in these earlier lists.⁵⁸

The prevalent continental opinion at the present is, that Rameses II., in his long and constructive reign, was pre-eminently the monarch of the oppression, which had begun under his predecessors, and that his son Menephta was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. This opinion is advanced, with different degrees of confidence, by such writers as Lepsius, De Rougé, Lenormant, Bunsen, Mariette, Brugsch, Birch, Ebers, and many others.

These writers assign the elevation of Joseph and the migration of Jacob to the time of the shepherd kings.⁵⁹ In addition to certain other considerations, such as the elevation of a foreigner being more consonant with the ascendancy of a foreign dynasty (Asiatic too), the non-recognition of Joseph's countrymen by a new king or dynasty, the marriage of Joseph to a daughter of the high-priest of On, a city occupied by the shepherd kings, it is considered an important fact, that a monument discovered at Sâh by Mariette Bey, which was erected by Rameses II., is dated "the four hundredth year from the reign of Set," or Saitis, one of the shepherd kings.⁶⁰ This would correspond very close-

⁵⁸ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, i. 449, 684.

⁵⁹ Brugsch, *Histoire*, p. 174 (second edition); Mariette, *Aperçu*, p. 41; Birch, *History*, p. 78.

⁶⁰ So given by Birch and Mariette. The latter renders it "l'an 400 du roi *Sct-aa-pehti Noubti*." Brugsch calls him King *Nub*. Chabas (*Zeitschrift für Aeg. Spr.*, May, 1865) understands a double name of the same person, *Sct-aa-pehti* and *Nubti*. The whole hieroglyphic text, with a translation, is given in Birch's *Selected Egyptian Texts*, iv. 35, and *Egypt's Place*, v. 734, 735.

ly to the four hundred and thirty years of the residence in Egypt, if we assume the Exodus to have taken place under the successor of this Rameses. Some of these writers (Birch, Lenormant, Brugsch⁶¹) favor the view that the monarch of Joseph's time was Apepi II. (Apappos).

Various circumstances are thought to concur in showing that Rameses was the oppressor, and his son the weak and vanquished pursuer of the Israelites. His enormous building operations, wherein he far outstripped all other Egyptian kings, and probably exhausted his empire, and his great canal, correspond well to the Scripture account of an oppressor who wore out the lives of the Israelites "with hard bondage in brick and mortar, and in all manner of service in the field." One of the inscriptions in his temple at Ipsambul informs us that "he brought with him out of all countries builders, as slaves of his supremacy over all lands, and erected houses of the gods with the sons of Rutennu."⁶² And another inscription of his mentions the Aperu as in a condition of servitude, quarrying and transplanting stone for the great fortress of Paramessu.⁶³ The name of one of his fortresses, Rameses, corresponds to the ambitious spirit of a monarch who spread his name over all Egypt, and who was the first that made that name specially conspicuous in this mode. The great wall or chain of fortresses built by him, among which were Rameses and Pitom, as a defence from eastern enemies, corresponds well with the apprehensions of foreign foes expressed in Exod.

⁶¹ Brugsch (*Histoire*, second edition, p. 175) speaks of this view as a tradition from Syncellus, "adopted by all the world." Lenormant (*Histoire*, i. 151) accepts it. Still, Bunsen and Lepsius hold theories that do not permit them to adopt it. The Speaker's Commentary rejects it, and places the time of Joseph in the twelfth dynasty, under Amenemha III.; Bunsen, under Osirtasen I., of the same dynasty.

⁶² Egypt's Place, iii. 176.

⁶³ Birch's History, p. 134.

i. 8-10, and with a time of receding power. The remark of Lepsius is also in point, that the only explanation of the journey of the Israelites is found in the construction of the canal to the Red Sea, by means of which the Israelites were provided with water for both man and beast, and this canal would seem to have been constructed by Rameses II.⁶⁴ Moreover, while the monarch's oppression would furnish the natural promptings to revolt and flight, the accession of a weak successor would have offered the fitting opportunity.

Accordingly, various indications are thought to point to the time of his son Menephta as the period of the Exodus. First may be placed the account quoted by Josephus from Manetho, the substance of which, abridged and cleared of many impossible or improbable details (which vouch for its independent origin), is this: After the reign of the great Rameses, King Amenophis was overcome by a vast body of lepers who had been severely oppressed, and who were led by a priest of Heliopolis, Osarsiph by name, afterward called Moses. These lepers were pledged to obey their leader in everything, were commanded to worship no gods, to pay no regard to the distinction of the sacred animals of Egypt, and to hold fellowship with no man who did not belong to them, and to live in a general conflict with the customs of Egypt. Their victory over Amenophis was in accordance with a prophecy, on account of which he had lost all spirit. They were aided by shepherd allies from Jerusalem, to the number of two hundred thousand, and Amenophis was so intimidated that with his own army of three hundred thousand he did not venture to attack them, but taking his gods and his son Sethos, he fled to Ethiopia. After thirteen years, he returned with a powerful army, subdued the lep-

⁶⁴ This point will be considered more fully in another chapter.

ers and the shepherds, and drove them as far as the frontier of Syria. In another briefer statement concerning the conquest of the shepherds, they are said to have been driven out, to the number of two hundred and fifty thousand, through the wilderness of Syria.⁶⁵ Now these statements are confused, and blended with many other details. But we cannot fail to notice many circumstances of correspondence with the real or supposed history. While some have denied that this has any reference to the Exodus of the Hebrews, the coincidence is so unmistakable that writers who take very different views of the facts involved, and give very different explanations of the details appended, yet recognize this reference. Josephus, who disputes the accounts, admits the reference. Delitzsch even identifies the shepherds with the Israelites.⁶⁶ Ewald, Bunsen, Lepsius, and Kurtz find here an Egyptian distorted account of the transactions recorded in Exodus.⁶⁷ Several marked points of coincidence stand out very prominently: the priest of Heliopolis, Moses, the lepers, the great numbers, the rigid law, the abrogation of idolatry, the prophetic announcement, the retreat to Syria, through the wilderness, and possibly the allusion to Jerusalem. The whole narrative may be fairly recognized as a confused and disguised account of a great national disaster and terrible humiliation, and even of the overthrow of the reigning monarch.

⁶⁵ This same account, with expansions, abridgments, and variations, is given also by Chaeremon and Lysimachus (the latter adopted by Apion), as quoted by Josephus contra Apionem, i. 32, 34; ii. 2.

⁶⁶ Commentar zur Genesis.

⁶⁷ Kurtz, History of the Old Covenant, ii. 389, *seq.*; Ewald, History of Israel, i. 502 (English translation); Lepsius, Chronologie, 325, *seq.*; Bunsen, Egypt's Place, iii. 194, *seq.* But Canon Cook (Speaker's Commentary, i. 462) calls this account "utterly worthless." Hengstenberg thinks it an Egyptian perversion of the Hebrew accounts.

But in this statement from Egyptian sources we have the three successive names corresponding with the known order, Rameses, Amenophis (Menephta), Sethos (Seti II.), and the history of Amenophis, introduced as immediately following Rameses, the length of whose reign is given as sixty-six years. Coincident with these other indications is the fact that the monumental records of Menephta which bear date, are not later than the second year of his reign;⁶⁸ although a tablet at Sourarieh describes a great victory over the Libyans, which is supposed to have taken place probably in the eighth year of his reign.⁶⁹ Other notices of him are scanty, and the monuments of his reign are few and slight: a small rock-temple at Silsilis, two or three inscriptions, one of which alludes to building commenced and a quarry opened, and some cartouches of his placed on his father's works at Thebes.⁷⁰ The lists assign him a reign of twenty years. His tomb is among the tombs of the kings at Thebes,⁷¹ though not finished. Bunsen says of it: "The introductory scene only is represented, which, according to custom, the king caused to be executed after his accession, in preparation for 'the eternal house.'" Others have called attention to the fact that the narrative in Exodus does not say that the king himself perished in the sea, although the first impression made by the narrative is to that effect, and Psa. cxxxvi. 15 is understood to convey that meaning. It deserves to be mentioned, also, that there is a hiatus in the occupancy of

⁶⁸ Birch (p. 136) says, "the first year;" Bunsen (iii. 189) says, "the second."

⁶⁹ Lenormant (i. 431) supposes the Exodus to have taken place but a very short time after this Libyan invasion.

⁷⁰ Bunsen says (iii. 190), "Lepsius has discovered that in his reign there were two rival sovereigns." But Lepsius would seem to have abandoned that opinion when he wrote the "Königsbuch;" and Birch (p. 142) expressly designates the alleged "rivals" as successors.

⁷¹ So Mariette, Lenormant, Bunsen.

the Egyptian mines in the Sinaitic peninsula both before and after this reign, there being no record between Thothmes III. at Wady Maghâra (though Ebers gives Rameses II. as one of the names there found) and Setnecht at Sarabit el Khadim.

The date commonly assigned to this reign (about B.C. 1320) is not in accordance with the received chronology of the Exodus. But it may be that the supposed date of his reign is wrong, or it may be that the commonly received date of the Exodus is wrong. An essential element in the common reckoning is the date given in 1 Kings vi. 1, which makes the interval between the Exodus and the building of the temple to be 480 years. This statement itself, however, is regarded by some expositors as being no part of the original text,⁷² although it is to be conceded that the chronology as given in detail elsewhere amounts to a still longer period. On this subject we must be content to wait for further light. It may or it may not come. Brugsch well says in his latest work, "The unexpected discovery of a papyrus containing the Book of Kings without the least hiatus, will be the only means of establishing the chronology of the Egyptian dynasties, especially in that part which ascends beyond the nineteenth dynasty."⁷³ And M. Chabas frankly admits the possibility of an error of two hundred years in the date of the nineteenth dynasty, "so vitiated are the documents in history, or incomplete upon the mon-

⁷² For the reasons—(1) that Origen quotes the passage without the date; (2) that Josephus, Theophilus, and Clemens Alexandrinus do not recognize it where they would naturally be expected to do so; (3) that this mode of reckoning from an era is unknown elsewhere in the Old Testament, and not employed by the Greeks, even, till much later; (4) that the time does not accord with the sum total derived from the other historical books of the Old Testament, which would make the interval from 579 to 592 years.

⁷³ *Histoire*, second edition, p. 179.

uments;⁷⁴ and in a later work he distinctly rejects all attempts to settle the dates by astronomical calculations.⁷⁵

Canon Cook, in an elaborate discussion, strongly argues for the Exodus in the reign of Thothmes II. of the eighteenth dynasty, in the year 1647 according to the dates of Brugsch and Lepsius. His reasons are, the admitted shortness and ingloriousness of the reign, the apparent catastrophes that followed his death, particularly a general revolt of the confederated nations on the north of Palestine, which no attempt was made to subdue till the twenty-second year of Thothmes III. There was also an intermission in the working of the mines at Wady Maghâra between Thothmes I. and Thothmes III.

A very late attempt to adjust the date of the Exodus and other facts is made by Ernst de Bunsen in 1874. He assigns it to the reign of Amenophis I., the second king of the eighteenth dynasty, and to the year B.C. 1653. His argument is more confident than clear or convincing.

Any theory which supposes the Israelites to be in Palestine prior to the invasions of that country by Thothmes III. meets formidable objections, both on the side of the monuments and of the Biblical history. The former, in their minute enumeration of the tribes he encountered there, make no mention of any that can be identified with the Hebrews; nor does the Scripture narrative seem to allow of such invasions as those of Thothmes during their residence in Palestine. In our present knowledge of the subject, it would seem difficult to accept any time previous to that of Rameses II.; and until further light comes, we may, perhaps, best acquiesce in the view of Rougé, Lepsius, Bunsen, Mariette,

⁷⁴ *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, ii. 112 (cited in the *Speaker's Commentary*, i. 452).

⁷⁵ *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, p. 26.

Brugsch, Birch, and others, that Menephta was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Both the general considerations and the special traditions already mentioned point in this direction more distinctly than any other. The most difficult point in this theory is the chronological question, for the theory of Lepsius brings the date of Menephta at least one hundred and seventy years later than the lowest Biblical data. This may be left for future adjustment.

Meanwhile, an Anglo-Saxon mind cannot fail to observe the extreme confidence with which some of these writers settle this question on very doubtful foundations; for it appears, on inquiring for the authorities on which Lepsius determines the date of Menephta, that they are found, fundamentally, in a combination of the statements of Theon and Censorinus. If we accept as certain the single assertion of the latter, that the Sothic period began in the hundredth year before his time, there remains to connect this with the reign of Menephta only the assertion of Theon, of the fourth century, concerning "the era of Menophres." When we look sharply at the identification, we find—(1) that Theon himself lived some seventeen hundred years later than the era of which he is supposed to speak, and we naturally inquire what may have been his means of knowledge; (2) that the name is "Menophres," and requires a change to make it Menophthes; and (3), that it is still an assumption that the "era of Menephta" means the Sothic period beginning in his time.⁷⁶ These may be all valid assumptions, but can hardly be reckoned among the facts historically settled.

⁷⁶ Mr. Birch (*History*, p. 152) seems to say that the Sothic period is recorded at Thebes as beginning in the time of Rameses III., the fourth or fifth reign after Menephta. It is at this part of Thebes his conquests are sculptured, and a calendar marked the fixed year, or rising of the dog-star, on the first day of the month Thoth, the New-year's-day of Egypt, about 1300 B.C.

Two short sentences could contain all the facts now required to establish the true theory in the case, and to remove all the objections. But whether those sentences can ever be filled with the ascertained facts remains to be seen. Meantime, the grand folly is dogmatism, and the highest wisdom is patient waiting. Egypt, it has been well said, is the land of surprises.

CHAPTER V.

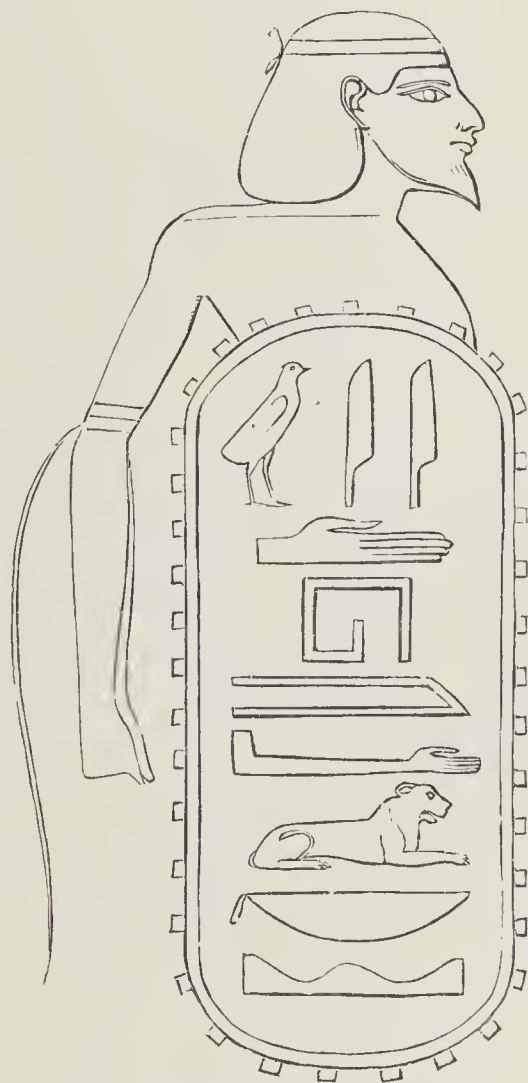
TRACES OF CONTACT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT.

IN the year 1832 Champollion the younger went up the Nile. He landed about sunset, for an hour or two, to snatch a hasty view of the ruins of Karnak. Near the end of the southern wall of the Great Hall, outside, he paused before the figure of an Egyptian monarch, who, with upraised arm, was striking a company of captives at his feet. Behind them stood a line of one hundred and fifty bearded persons, whose bodies were half hidden by shields covered with inscriptions. While in Europe, Champollion had seen and read the monarch's name, "Sheshonk," or Shishak. The moment his eye fell upon the twenty-ninth of the figures bearing the shields, he read its inscription, "King of the Country of Judah." He stood before the Egyptian record of the memorable expedition of Shishak to Palestine, and his capture and plunder of Jerusalem, as recorded in the Second Book of Chronicles.¹ It is "the first certain synchronistic point," says Bunsen, "in Egyptian and Asiatic history." In the same series you read, also, the names of Beth-horon, Megiddo, Mahanaim, and other places through which the expedition passed.

¹ Chapter xii. Some little diversity of translation does not affect the fact of the record concerning "Judah." Birch translates (p. 165), "Royal city of Judah;" Lenormant, "Judah the royal" (i. 453); Brugsch understands "Judah Melek" to be the name of a locality in Palestine; and Mariette adopts his view (*Itinéraire de Haute-Égypte*, p. 173); Bunsen gives it (iii. 242), "Judah, king."

Since the time of Champollion the inquiry for traces of the far earlier contact of Israel with Egypt, and in Egypt, has been earnestly prosecuted, and attended with as much success as could reasonably be expected. The attempt is necessarily attended with difficulties. We could not for a moment expect such indications to lie upon the surface. All the circumstances would seem to preclude it.

Names would long ago, for the greater part, have passed away in the total change of language that has prevailed for more than one thousand years. The dominant races and polity have also changed many times. The habits of life and customs of commemoration were unfavorable, the monuments being those of royalty and rank. Only the wealthy and the great could build the solid temples, and execute and decorate the vast sepulchral palaces which partially transmit the memory of their founders. All common buildings were, and still are,



JUTAHA MELEK.

constructed of perishable materials, sun-dried bricks, which in time moulder back to heaps of earth. Everything upon the lower levels of the Nile must gradually or rapidly be obliterated by its inundations. A subject nation, moreover, whether Hebrew or African, builds no monuments and makes no commemorative inscriptions; and when an en-

slaved people at length rises in its might, and marches out victorious, the vanquished nation left upon the soil has little inducement to perpetuate the memory of its own humiliation. Even the later Jewish occupancy of certain localities in Egypt would tend rather to confuse than to intensify the marks of an earlier occupancy.

It is well known that in the time of Christ the Jews in Egypt were very numerous. Philo estimates their number at nearly half the supposed number in the Exodus. The Septuagint translation of the Bible is a monument of their intelligence, influence, and activity between two and three centuries before Christ. At one place their name still lingers, Tell el Yahoodeh, "the mound of the Jews," twenty-two miles nearly north of Cairo. The ruins here are commonly supposed to mark the site of the city founded by the Jewish high-priest Onias, in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor. Some have conjectured that this place was selected by reason of historic associations. But the crude brick mounds, on being dug into, in 1870, disclosed no Jewish remains, although there was a rumor of a Hebrew inscription which never was produced; but there were found the ruins of a magnificent temple of Rameses III., and, according to Mr. Birch,² monuments of shepherd kings.

But there are numerous subtler indications, all the more satisfactory because many of them lie beneath the surface, and have lain unknown for two or three thousand years until the present century, and because some of them have in past times been very boldly denied, although now undeniable. They constitute a sort of water-line mark, or a writing in sympathetic ink, unexpectedly disclosed. The state of the case is as follows: Here are two sets of records, one

² History of Egypt, p. 78.

from Egypt and one from Palestine. The Hebrew narrative claims two things: first, to have come, in its earlier portions, from a man born and brought up in Egypt; and, secondly, to describe a long residence of his people and various historical transactions in Egypt. These two sources should exhibit mutual coincidences and correspondences, which should fit into each other like the two halves of a torn bank-note.

These coincidences or marks of contact are found—(1) in the references to and implications of Egypt in the Hebrew literature; (2) in the coincidences of the two languages; (3) in the silent influence of Egyptian customs, tinging the early history and life of the Hebrews; (4) in the correspondence of certain direct historic statements concerning Egypt with the state of facts disclosed by modern research.

1. No doubt the most fundamental of all the indications of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt is to be found, not in Egypt, but in the Hebrew literature itself; in its steady references, underlying implications, allusions, assumptions, and commemorations. The life and literature of the nation were suffused with these reminiscences, incorporated bodily into its subsequent writings and institutions. The Passover, the Feast of Tabernacles, the consecration of the first-born, handed down the Egyptian history in solemn and special commemorations and ordinances, like those celebrations which have just occupied the United States, but with these important differences: that—(1) they were constant, and not centennial; (2) they were enjoined by positive statute, and not left to voluntary action; (3) they were brought home to every household and individual, and not merged in representative proceedings; (4) they were made matters of religious principle, and systematically enforced household instruction; and (5) the process began from the earliest child.

hood. Aaron's rod and the pot of manna long remained as physical mementos of the journey out. The second rehearsal of the Decalogue incorporated as a motive of obedience the memory of the oppression in Egypt. The Feast of Pentecost, the Year of Jubilee, the law against usury, the duty of beneficence, were all urged home by the recollection of Egyptian bondage. The deliverance was an habitual refrain in the public and national hymns of praise, from Miriam's song to the psalms of the Babylonish captivity.³ It was the theme of prophetic appeal from Moses to Samuel, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah; and that oppression which was the "iron furnace" in the days of the great law-giver,⁴ was still the "iron furnace" down almost to the end of the ancient prophecy.⁵ This aspect of the case is too familiar to require expansion. And yet it cannot be omitted in the enumeration; for, interwoven as it is with a nation's life, growth, and whole history, nothing could be more profoundly significant.

2. Another very distinct trace of the Egyptian residence is found in its effect on the two languages, and particularly as exhibited in the books of Moses. Ever since the old Egyptian writings were first deciphered, scholars have been steadily recognizing the incorporation of the phraseology of the monuments into the narrative of Moses, and lately some traces of a reciprocal influence, although, from the nature of the case, little of the latter effect was to be looked for.

Of course due allowance must be made for the general connection of languages by families, and only those correspondences should be recognized which are too marked to be thus explained. In this fruitful and expanding field, I shall content myself with specimens, and those very ob-

³ *E. g.*, Psa. cv., cvi.

⁴ Deut. iv. 20.

⁵ Jer. xi. 11.

vious, without attempting an exhaustive list, or including questionable examples.

The earliest noticeable instance—and a very noticeable one it is—occurs in the word “ark;” in Hebrew, *tevah* or *tebhah*. It occurs in the Bible only in Genesis and Exodus.⁶ It has no known Semitic root. But the Egyptian *tba* means chest or boat, and also cradle. In the same connection the word “cubit,” *ammah*,⁷ is also found in the Egyptian *mah*, Coptic *mahi*. The occurrence of the word “ark” in Exodus is in the midst of a whole cluster of Egyptian surroundings. Thus it is made of bulrushes (or papyrus), *gome*,⁸ a word occurring only in the Pentateuch and Job, but in the Egyptian *kam* and Coptic *kam*, which is shown by Brugsch to have been specially used for making the light boats of the Nile, and also, in one instance, into a basket.⁹ It was smeared with slime and pitch—*chemar* and *zephath*.¹⁰ The second of these words, which occurs but twice in the Scriptures, is very common in Egyptian, in the form *sft*, meaning pitch. The former is shown to be identical with the Egyptian word of which the consonants are inverted thus, *m-r-ch*. The ark was placed in the “flags,” *suph*,¹¹ for which there is no Hebrew or Semitic etymology. But the Egyptian *tufi* or *sufi* (Coptic, *koof*) is the same word and thing—a species of papyrus growing in marshy places. It was placed by the “river’s brink,” where the Hebrew *yeor*¹² is a simple transfer of the common Egyptian *aor*, meaning the river Nile. The very phrase, “by the river’s brink,”

⁶ Gen. vi., vii.; Exod. ii. 3, תֵּבָה. Different writers give the vowels of the Egyptian words diversely. The consonants are the essential elements.

⁷ אַמָּה.

⁸ גֹּמֶה.

⁹ Speaker’s Commentary, i. 484. It is needless to mention to persons familiar with the laws of language, the substantial identity of the kindred consonants, as b, p, v, or g and k, or t, d, th, etc., and their constant interchange.

¹⁰ חֶמֶר, זֶפֶת.

¹¹ סוּפ.

¹² יְאוֹר.

literally and peculiarly, the “*lip*” of the river, occurs in an Egyptian papyrus of the nineteenth dynasty. Thus completely Egyptian is not only the scene itself, but all the characteristic phraseology in which it is narrated. A similar instance may be mentioned in this connection, though occurring later. The kine of Pharaoh’s dream fed in “the meadow,” *achu*,¹³ a purely Egyptian word, in the precise form *achu* (Coptic, *achi*), meaning reeds, rushes. Jerome learned from the Egyptians that it designated everything green that grows in the marshes. In like manner, the “fine linen,” *shesh*,¹⁴ with which Joseph was arrayed, was the very *shes* of the monuments.

The above are chiefly names of Egyptian objects, directly retained, in accordance with the principle that the objects of common life are those which cling to a speech, as in the Saxon measures of length, names of trees, and similar things. The same principle is illustrated abundantly in other Egyptian words that appear in the Pentateuch. The Hebrew measure, “the hin,”¹⁵ reproduces the Egyptian *han*, a vase, or a measure; the “ephah” and the “homer” of Exod. xvi. are both also Egyptian.¹⁶ The “taskmasters” over the Israelites, or chiefs of tributes,¹⁷ are designated by two words found upon the monuments, and the first of them is the title of the head-officer in the brickmaking scene of Thothmes III., while it is equally characteristic that the officers who went through Joshua’s host before crossing the Jordan (Josh. i. 10) are called by a Hebrew word with an Egyptian suggestion, “writers.” The “stubble” and the “straw”¹⁸ of Exod. v. 12, *kash* and *teven*, are almost exact transcripts of two Egyptian words, meaning

¹³ אַחוּ.¹⁴ שֶׁשׁ.¹⁵ הֵין.¹⁶ עֶפָה, הוֹמֶר.¹⁷ שָׂרֵי מִסִּים, Exod. i. 11.¹⁸ קָשׁ, תֶּבֶן, Exod. v. 12.

“stalks” and “chaff.” The “bush” in which Moses saw the flame of fire was a *seneh*,¹⁹ a name that is found in papyri of the nineteenth dynasty (and in inscriptions), and means the thorny acacia. The “pot” in which the manna was to be deposited²⁰ is expressed by a word found nowhere else in the Bible, but in the inscriptions it means a casket for oblations. And when the Israelites longed for the “flesh-pots,” they used another word,²¹ not found elsewhere in the Scriptures, but found in the Egyptian. The “timbrel”²² which Miriam took bore an Egyptian name; and the word for chariots in the triumphal song of the Israelites, “*markebhoth*,”²³ is almost exactly the monumental word, *markabuta*, for the same thing.

Mr. Hincks considers it “all but certain that the name of the month Abib, in the Pentateuch, is taken from the Egyptian Epiphi,” and that its occurrence in the Pentateuch is “one of the undesigned coincidences,” which “could not have been made by a writer of a later date than the Exodus, or, at any rate, by an Israelite who was a stranger in Egypt.”²⁴

Many other words in common life offer no Hebrew derivation or connection, and are ascribed, with more or less certainty (some of them as clearly as those already given) to Egyptian roots, such as the words in the narrative for enchantments, sorcerers, frogs, boils, blains, flax, and others.²⁵

¹⁹ סֵנֶה, Exod. iii. 2.

²⁰ צִנְצָנָה, Exod. xvi. 33.

²¹ סִיר, Exod. xvi. 3.

²² תֶּבֶל, Exod. xv. 20.

²³ מִרְקָבָה, Exod. xv. 4.

²⁴ Hincks, Various Years and Months among the Egyptians, pp. 38, 39. Fuerst recognizes the allusion in the name, though not the correspondence in time, which Hincks advocates. So also Mr. Eisenlohr, while recognizing the correspondence of the names *hin* and *ephah*, maintains that the capacity of the Egyptian and Hebrew measures was diverse. Zeitschrift für Aeg. Spr. 1875, pp. 43, 46.

²⁵ I have availed myself partly of the selections given in an essay on the

The name of Moses is now generally recognized as an Egyptian noun, *mesu*, "son," derived from a verb to draw forth, hence readily represented by the Hebrew "mashah," unless indeed the Hebrew verb itself be of Egyptian origin; for it is noticeable again that some of the Hebrew verbs of common use exhibit a singular resemblance to the Egyptian words of corresponding meaning, as if they were little else than the same words simply adapted to the respective languages.²⁶

On the other hand, it is proper to mention the Hebrew, or certainly Semitic, names that occur on the monuments, not alone of foreign objects, as the horse and camel, but, as Brugsch says, "of a crowd of objects for which the Egyptian tongue had exact equivalents. They employed, for example, the Semitic word "*rosh*" for head; *sar*, for the chief or king; *beit*, house; *bab*, gate; *bir*, well; *gethem*, gold; *birkata*, lake; *salom*, to salute; *rom*, to be high; *barak*, to bless; and many others. These Semitic words were so rooted in the Egyptian speech and writing, that almost every historic document of the times of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties affords new proof of the mania for mingling Semitic with Egyptian."²⁷ Brugsch attributes this fact to the earlier or Shepherd irruption. But while the question how it came may be an open one, the fact is admitted, and is remarkable; and since, with

subject in the Speaker's Commentary, and have made use also of Birch's and Bunsen's dictionaries of hieroglyphics. The dictionary of Brugsch I have quoted only through the Speaker's Commentary. I have referred also to Professor Dietrich's comparison of Egyptian and Semitic roots in Bunsen's Egypt's Place, vol. v. The list could be much increased.

²⁶ *E. g.*, *Ahi*, אֲחִי, to live; *askak*, אֲשַׁקֵּק, to cry out; *rakat*, רָכַח, to wash; *huf*, אָפַח, bake, etc. See numerous examples in the comparative glossary in Egypt's Place, vol. v.

²⁷ Brugsch, Histoire d'Égypte, second edition, p. 142.

one or two exceptions, every one of these terms is unmistakably among the commonest Hebrew words, it would seem singularly unphilosophical to suppose some other unknown origin.

The same writer refers to numerous personal names of foreign, and some of them clearly Semitic, origin, such as *Baal-Mohar*, borne by native Egyptians, as well as to certain names of places, such as *Maktal*, corresponding to the Hebrew "Migdol," fortress.²⁸ But these, being more uncertain, may be left out of the account. On the other hand, several of the appellations given in the Pentateuch as Egyptian names, have been interpreted from that ancient language. Thus, Asenath, Zaphnath Paneah, Potipherah, are Favorite of Neith (or Isis Neith), "Food of the Living" (or of Life), "Devoted to Ra."

These are prominent examples of a much larger class of words. The fifth volume of Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in the World's History* contains a comparative glossary of Egyptian and Semitic words extending through twenty-six pages, a very considerable portion of which would bear more or less directly on this subject. From the first unlocking of the hieroglyphics there has been a steady progress in the discovery of these linguistic connections, and there is no reason to suppose that it is yet ended.

3. Numerous traces of the long contact with Egypt are found in the silent influence of Egyptian customs tinging the whole earliest history of the Hebrew nation. This, again, has been a growing field of discovery, in which new correspondences have appeared from time to time. Some things are known certainly, others probably. There remains a large mass of circumstances which can be account-

²⁸ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, second edition, pp. 141, 142.

ed for in the same way, but of which the connection is at present only conjectural. Some theorists, no doubt, have even carried the identification in certain speculative topics to an excess. But there is a region on which we may proceed with the firmest tread.

There is a peculiar force in this part of the discussion, inasmuch as in the Hebrew narrative of the facts under consideration not a word is ever said of the influences which caused them. It is a correspondence which unexpectedly emerges to the eye of those who in these latest times look upon the two ancient records now first laid side by side.

The nature of the case becomes quite striking when we compare it for a moment with another signal example. A late theory would carry the Trojan war very nearly back to the time of the Exodus, and Homer only some fifty years later than the events he describes in the *Iliad*. He wrote, as a Greek, of the Greeks. But while his pictures are recognized as, on the whole, singularly coincident with general and special facts as since discovered, so that Mr. Gladstone calls his poems "in the highest sense historical as a record of manners and characters, feelings and tastes, races and countries, principles and institutions,"²⁹ yet the late excavations at Troy present some such discrepancies of detail that Mr. Schliemann maintains, that while Homer knew the Troad, his knowledge of Troy was only traditional;³⁰ and Mr. Gladstone, while differing from him in some respects, "would warn the inquirer to beware of the disposition to aim at establishing an exact correspondence of detail."³¹ He says, "I hold it to be certain that while he has

²⁹ *Time and Place of Homer*, p. 9.

³⁰ *Troy and its Remains*, pp. 18-20, 305, 372.

³¹ *Time and Place of Homer*, p. 30.

given us the local features of the site and the plain sufficiently for a large identification, he has handled them loosely and at will in points of detail. I will illustrate this position by an instance. He gives us as close to Troy two fountains which were the sources of the Scamander, and of which one was hot, the other cold. The result is that there are not two fountains, but four; that two of them may be said to form a double one, but both have the same temperature; that none of them are sources of the Scamander at all; that the Scamander does proceed from a hot and a cold spring, but these are far away from Troy, hidden in Mount Ida."³²

Again, in regard to the works of art described by Homer, there is confessedly even greater want of correspondence with the state of things disclosed in the excavations at Hissarlik. Says Mr. Gladstone, "The remains at Hissarlik exhibit no works of art so advanced as the belt, brooch, and armor of Agamemnon, or, above all, as the shield of Achilles;"³³ and, in vindication of Homer, he properly falls back upon the imaginative privilege and functions of a poet. But the fact remains the same, that neither the brazen shield, the gold bottle, nor the gold cups, nor the jug and vases of "Priam's treasure" found in Hissarlik, exhibit the tendency or the capacity for such ornamentation as the poet describes.

The same writer comments on the fact that the Homeric poems contain but a single undeniable mention of anything that can be called writing, taken in connection with the results of these excavations and what is known of the scarcity of early writing among the Aryan stock, as among the strongest indications of the very great antiquity of the

³² Time and Place of Homer, pp. 76, 77.

³³ *Ib.* p. 55.

poems.³⁴ And yet at a period still earlier than this, or, at the very latest, contemporaneous, another writer was in the boldest way referring to the art of writing as abundantly familiar, so that the Commandments were not only then inscribed upon stone in the Wilderness, and required to be written on stones upon Mount Ebal, but to be bound upon the head and written on the door-posts and gates, whether literally or figuratively;³⁵ and still further, the whole record and narrative of all these things purported to have been written down contemporaneously. So improbable did this seem in the general state of our knowledge within the present century, that the first Hebrew scholar of the generation past, in his earlier life, doubted whether the art of writing could have been known to the Hebrews in the age of Moses. And yet he lived to see it proved that for ages before the Hebrews lived in Egypt the art had been known there, and that the nation from which they came out was a nation of writers. Such a scantness of allusion to writing as was suitable in the Iliad would have been suspicious indeed in the Pentateuch.³⁶

³⁴ Time and Place of Homer, pp. 63-65. The clear allusion to writing is found in the Iliad, vi. 168 :

“ He sent him thence
To Lyeia, with a fatal tablet sealed
With things of deadly import writ therein.”—BRYANT.

³⁵ Deut. xxvii. 2, 3 ; vi. 8, 9.

³⁶ It is curious what a battle has been fought over this question of writing in the time of Moses, and how every inch of ground has been hotly contested in Germany, and finally surrendered at discretion. One Tyehsen maintained that the Egyptians had no *alphabetic* writing whatever till they received it from the Greeks. Hartmann argued that only the priests possessed the art of writing, and also that the condition of the Israelites in Egypt would preclude them from all knowledge of the art. The same writer, and others, showed, as they thought, that there could be no suitable writing materials, inasmuch as Egyptian superstitions must have prevented the manufacture and use of parchment. Vater affirmed that only stone, metal, and wood were first used for tablets, and

But to apply still further the criterion suggested by this comparison of Homer with the plain of Troy and the treasure of Priam, we proceed to the kindred topic of personal ornaments, and the skill with which they were wrought. The Pentateuch mentions that the golden calf at Sinai was made out of the ear-rings of the women. This would imply a supply of such jewelry not safe to predicate at random (for example, concerning the Greeks or Trojans), but fully conformed to the condition of things among which the Hebrews had so long lived, where not only are ear-rings of gold, and in some instances set with pearls, abundantly found, as well as represented, but where one of the pictures at Thebes exhibits the ladies comparing the ornaments in their ears.

The implied skill in metallurgy and the manufacture of jewelry, formerly questioned, is now perfectly established. The whole process of working gold is delineated in their tombs, while various modern museums exhibit great numbers of old Egyptian ear-rings, finger-rings (some of them very massive), bracelets, anklets, and other kinds of ornaments, elaborately and delicately wrought, and inlaid with

hence extensive records were out of the question; and he and others appealed to the original words for writing to prove that it was cutting into a hard substance. Von Bohlen and Vatke maintained that the highest date of writing among the Semitic tribes is "scarcely ten centuries before the Christian era, and even this is by no means accredited." Hartmann was so confident that the art of writing could not have existed among the Hebrews till the time of the Judges, that the question whether Moses was the author of any part of the Pentateuch could not be even entertained. And even Gesenius (*Geschichte der Heb. Sprache*, p. 140) and De Wette (*Archæologie*, p. 277) once went so far as to maintain that only in the time of the Judges could the Hebrews properly receive the use of writing. It is little more than sixty years since the first of these deliverances was put forth. But already every one of them may be considered as thoroughly exploded as the Ptolemaic system, and as obsolete. A summary statement of these positions may be found in Hengstenberg's and Haevernick's Introductions.

precious stones and enamel. I need but refer to the jewelry of Queen Aah-hotep, previously described.

The stones on the high-priest's breastplate—sardius, topaz, and the like—were to be engraved with the names of the tribes, "like the engraving of a signet."³⁷ Such a direction would apparently have been a great anachronism to a Greek or a Trojan at that time or much later. But the art is most abundantly illustrated at the Egyptian home of the Israelites, in the countless names engraved on scarabæi, signet-rings, and other ornaments, even to the name of a queen inscribed on a glass bead.³⁸

The calf which they worshipped on that occasion, unaccountable elsewhere, was the image of the god Apis; and the dancing and the singing which took place at the same time, are delineated on the monuments as part of the worship in the temples, and in the processions as they approached the sacred courts.

The use of very varied musical instruments among the Jews, so varied as to be somewhat striking, is yet abundantly accounted for by the exhibitions presented to the eye in the tombs at Thebes. Timbrels, like Miriam's, round and square, are there seen in the hands of women; while pipes, trumpets, sistrums, drums, and guitars are there in great abundance and variety, and harps not much unlike the modern instrument, with varying numbers of strings up to twenty-two. The colored pictures of the harp and the player in one of the tombs are as fresh as those of a Roman gallery. Heads and frames of harps are to be seen in the museums at London, Berlin, and Leyden; and in one instance the catgut of a twenty-stringed harp was so well preserved, that they sounded on being struck, two or three

³⁷ Exod. xviii. 17, *seq.*

³⁸ Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 59.

thousand years from the time when the fingers that played it had shrivelled to a mummy.³⁹

Various facts connected with the manufacture of the tabernacle are thus readily explained. The women spun threads of "blue, purple, and scarlet," to be made into cloth.⁴⁰ Some specimens of Egyptian cloth prove to have been dyed in the thread.⁴¹ And even the blue color is found in these cloths, and proved to be indigo. We read also that they did beat the gold into plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen.⁴² Both gold and silver wires are found in Egypt, the former in the reign of Osirtasen I., probably six hundred years, at least, before the Exodus; and Herodotus tells of a corslet presented by King Amosis (Aahmes) to the Lacedemonian king, which was adorned with figures of animals wrought in just this way, with very fine threads of gold and cotton. The dyed leather⁴³ is not only exhibited in the pictures of harps, but a harp in the Louvre at Paris still shows the wood covered with green leather; while various other objects covered with leather, such as chairs, sofas, bow-cases, and even straps embossed with the name of Shishak, are perfectly preserved.⁴⁴

The ark was to be "overlaid with pure gold." This again was no novelty to the Hebrews. Specimens of this kind of work, overlaying and inlaying with gold, and even of working it into other metals, occur from the time of the first Osirtasen. Thus among the ornaments of Aah-hotep, already mentioned, is a small axe, the cedar handle of which is covered with gold-leaf, and its bronze blade with a thicker coating of the same metal, and ornamented; and a dag-

³⁹ Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, ii. 118.

⁴⁰ Exod. xxxv. 25.

⁴¹ Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, ii. 79.

⁴² Exod. xxxix. 3.

⁴³ Exod. xxxv. 7.

⁴⁴ Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, ii. 102.

ger (and case) has its wooden handle stamped with female figures in gold-leaf, its handle partly covered with triangles of gold, and its metallic blade edged with gold and damaskened with gold figures.

Many respectable writers have connected the carrying of the ark with a similar practice in the Egyptian processions. Others have thought they discovered in the Urim and Thummim a similar origin. But the former supposition is making quite too much of inevitable similarities, and the second is, at least, very questionable. In like manner some have considered the practice of circumcision to be the adoption of an Egyptian custom. But while it has been abundantly proved that the rite existed in Egypt,⁴⁵ it has been objected that the proof does not reach back with certainty to the days of Abraham.⁴⁶ At the same time, it has been well remarked, there would be nothing strange in the divine adoption and consecration of a custom already existing. Certainly the anointing of the Jewish kings after their consecration is illustrated in the temple of Medeenet Haboo, and elsewhere, in which the same ceremony, at this stage, is performed upon the Egyptian king. Guests, too, were anointed with oil. There may or may not have been a connection between these things.

Some of the injunctions and prohibitions of the Pentateuch can be readily accounted for only on the supposition that they were suggested by the customs which they had familiarly witnessed in Egypt. The prohibition of certain incestuous marriages derived special significance from the practices of Egypt, where the monarchs not only married

⁴⁵ The proof is well exhibited by Ebers in his *Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, pp. 278-285.

⁴⁶ See, for example, a summary of the case by the Bishop of Ely, *Speaker's Commentary*, i. 121, 122.

their sisters, but one at least, Rameses II., is supposed by some to have married his own daughter. She was queen while he was king, although, as Mr. Birch remarks, "it is not known of whom she was the wife."⁴⁷ It is not improbable that the protestation, "I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, nor given thereof for the dead,"⁴⁸ is explained by the small table of offerings to the dead, now in the British Museum. It was found in a tomb at Thebes, is made of reeds and palm-leaves, and contains cakes on the lower shelf, a trussed duck on the top one, and a similar bird, cut open and spread out, on the middle shelf. We cannot say certainly that the prohibition of cutting the flesh, and of ploughing with an ox and ass yoked together, were occasioned in this mode, for we do not find these things on the monuments, although they are common enough now, and the former seems to be alluded to by Herodotus.⁴⁹ But the clear instances which have been cited, and which could be multiplied, sufficiently illustrate the silent and subtle influence exerted by Egyptian customs upon the early history of the Israelites. And it probably is a well-founded belief, that many other references, now obscure, only require a restoration of the lost knowledge of prevalent customs among the people they had lived among and had left, to make them plain.

4. There is a direct and often minute correspondence of certain historic Biblical statements, with the results of Egyptian research, which implies extreme familiarity with the facts, such as comes from personal contact with them. Among these discoveries are some even which seem to bear quite directly on the statements of the written narrative.

The field is too wide to be exhibited except by selection.

⁴⁷ History of Egypt, p. 134.

⁴⁸ Deut. xxvi. 14.

⁴⁹ Herodotus, ii. 113.

But the Hebrew historian moves over it with a fearless step, and the men who have attempted to contradict his statements have hitherto come off without honor. The correctness of the account that Abraham, in that first recorded glimpse of Egypt, entered a mighty kingdom in mature civilization, has long since become a truism. The un-Oriental freedom with which Sarah's beauty was seen unveiled, once cavilled at, is abundantly confirmed by the representations of women moving about freely and openly, and mingling with men at the feasts. The slavery or bondage which the narrative recognizes is here amply set forth. Rows of white slaves and black in the oldest tombs are registered by scribes. The list of presents received by Abraham, and the items of his wealth, are remarkably confirmed both in the inclusions and the omissions—sheep, oxen, asses, camels, servants, gold, and silver.

Noticeably there are no horses, although in their Exodus the Israelites were followed by horses and chariots. As matter of fact, not a horse appears on the monuments prior to Thothmes III., who clearly in his conquests brought them from Asia. This was, according to the view already indicated, between the time of Abraham and the Exodus. Afterward they became abundant enough on the monuments; as, for example, in the time of Seti I. and Rameses II. And yet within fifty years this truthful omission was characterized as a blunder. And the same critic, in the same sentence, ventured to deny the presence of sheep and asses at that time. But a tomb in the region of the pyramids, one of the oldest, records as the property of one owner 2235 common sheep and 973 nobler sheep and rams. And asses are not only seen in the tombs of Osirtasen's time at Beni-Hassan, but whole herds of them occur in the far older tombs near the pyramids.

The case of camels is still more remarkable. They do not appear depicted on any of the monuments, and when the name occurs in the New Kingdom, it is evidently a transcription of the Semitic name. The only reply that for a long time could be made was, that for some unknown reason, as in the case of chickens, which are known to have been abundant, though never delineated, so the camel was probably omitted through some caprice. But now the early presence of the camel seems to be incontestably proved by the fact that Hekekyan Bey, in his borings at great depths in the Delta, found the bones of dromedaries.⁵⁰

As to the silver and gold, nothing further needs to be said. We find the process of working gold delineated in the twelfth dynasty, and in the Leyden collection a diadem of combined silver and gold belonging to the eleventh dynasty.

When we come to the later times, the facts brought to light by modern research form a series of very striking correspondences, extending from the sale of Joseph to the final deliverance. When the Midianites are described as freighted with "spicery and balm and myrrh,"⁵¹ the account not only conforms to the Egyptian demand for resinous and fragrant substances and spices of various kinds produced in foreign countries, for embalming, for medical purposes, for worship, and for the uses of private life, which is detected everywhere, and, in the words of Ebers, revealed "in a thousand passages of the inscriptions," but the same writer has no doubt that two of the three words here employed he has discovered connected in the "Laboratorium" of Edfu, the Hebrew "tseri" being represented by the hieroglyphic *tsara*, and "nekoth" by *nekrat*.⁵²

⁵⁰ Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, p. 35. These investigations took place between the years 1851 and 1854.

⁵¹ Gen. xxxvii. 25.

⁵² The Hebrew words are *צִרִי* and *נֶכֶת*. Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher*

Be it as it may in regard to these two words, all the circumstances of the subsequent narrative have been found singularly invested with monumental confirmations. The sale of Joseph as a slave, the name of Potiphar "devoted to Ra," and his position as commander of the body-guard, Joseph's place as steward, and the nature of his temptation, are all well illustrated. As to the last point, indeed, the British Museum contains a singularly illustrative story, which is referred to the time of Rameses the Great. It represents two brothers, the younger of whom lived with the older and married brother. The younger went to the house one day for seed-corn, was encountered by the wife, as Joseph was, and replied in a similar strain: "Thou, O woman, art in place of a mother to me, and my brother in place of a father. It is a great wrong of which thou speakest to me." And he returned to the field. A charge like that against Joseph was made against him, and the woman had even wounded herself to give emphasis to the charge. Her husband determined to kill his younger brother, who fled for his life. The pursuers were arrested by a river full of crocodiles. From the opposite bank the younger brother now told his story, and mutilated himself in token of its truth. The husband, convinced at last, returned and slew his wife, literally casting her to the dogs. The story is equally remarkable, whether it be in some way founded upon the story of Joseph or entirely independent. Ebers, who gives it in full after Brugsch,⁵³ inclines to the latter opinion.

The wine drinking and manufacture involved in the story of the chief butler stands in distinct contradiction to one of

Moses, pp. 289, 290. He cites from Dümichen, *Geographischen Inschriften*, ii. lviii. 48a.

⁵³ *Ägypten und die Bücher Moses*, pp. 311-314.

the statements of Herodotus,⁵⁴ and the assertion of Plutarch,⁵⁵ as well as to the present aspect of the country. The traveller sees no vines. They are not reckoned among the present growth of Egypt, grapes being found only for eating in the Fayoom and in small patches in the Delta, as upon the Isle of Roda in the Nile.⁵⁶ But in the completest confirmation of the Scriptures, the early pyramid tombs show the process of vine-culture and grape-gathering, and those of Beni-Hassan (older than Joseph's time) the process of wine-making, while at Thebes everything connected with the cultivation of the grape, and the use, preservation, and intoxicating effects of wine are delineated to the eye. The drunken man is carried home by his servants, who hold him by the head and the feet; and another lies, like a sack of grain, helpless on the shoulders of three men. Servants are even supporting women no longer able to support themselves, and one brings her mistress the much-needed basin, but, alas! a little too late.

In like manner all the complicated processes of the baker's art are fully portrayed, and they show that the cuisine of a Pharaoh might be almost as elaborate a process as that of a Napoleon. The fate which the chief baker encountered, hanging, so alien from the practice of the Jews, is declared by Wilkinson to have been customary.⁵⁷

The observance of the monarch's birthday⁵⁸ is a custom specified in the two bilingual tablets of Rosetta and Canopus, in the first of which is also mentioned an amnesty of

⁵⁴ Herodotus, ii. 77; "They have no vines in the land." But in other sections he speaks of wine-drinking repeatedly: *c. g.*, sections 60, 121, 168.

⁵⁵ Plutarch de Is. 6; "They use wine only during fasts."

⁵⁶ Stephan, *Das Heutige Aegypten*, p. 91.

⁵⁷ Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 212. Ebers (*Aegypten*, p. 334) asserts that "hanged men are found in the pictures," and refers to Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* cxxiv.

⁵⁸ Gen. xl. 20-23.

criminals in prison, such as took place on this occasion.⁵⁹ The prisoner's shaving himself to come before the king, as well as the neglect of his beard, in token of affliction; the investiture with the robes of office and the gold chain; the use of the ring, which was in all probability a signet-ring; the sitting posture at meals; the wagons sent to Palestine, but otherwise unknown there, are all familiar touches of distinctively Egyptian life. The wagons were probably drawn by oxen, as was also Joseph's chariot, just as at Thebes one sees a picture of an Ethiopian princess riding in an ox-chariot to visit the Egyptian king. Here the mention of a horse would have been an easy anachronism, which is not committed.

The "grievous mourning of the Egyptians" is a phrase fully justified by the monuments. In one of the more ordinary funerals you see eight men throwing dust on their heads; then six mourning women shrieking, no doubt as I heard their successors on one occasion; then the hearse, drawn by oxen, accompanied by a driver and a man uttering lamentations; next, the high-priest offering incense and libations, other men following; and behind these, eight women beating themselves and throwing dust upon their heads. The funeral of a grandee was upon a scale proportionately "grievous."

Equally well illustrated is the condition of the Israelites in the times of their oppression. We see bands of workmen presided over by masters with the perpetual stick, and the bastinado is vigorously applied to prostrate men upon the soles of their feet, and to kneeling women on their shoulders, just as the Israelites, and even their officers, under their "taskmasters" were "beaten"⁶⁰ for their fail-

⁵⁹ Ebers, *Aegypten*, p. 335.

⁶⁰ Brugsch (*Zeitschrift für Aeg. Spr.* 1876, p. 77) cites from a papyrus the

ures. In the tomb No. 35 at Thebes, a singular painting, already mentioned, shows a group of men with Asiatic features, and some of them with bearded faces, going through the whole process of making bricks, under the charge of a standing overseer and a sitting taskmaster, each with his raised stick; and over the scene is the inscription, "Captives brought by the king to build the temple of the great god." It is unnecessary to regard these men as Hebrews, to get the force of the illustration.

The fact of an occasional famine finds its exemplification in the records of one Ameni, at Beni-Hassan, in the forty-third year of Osirtasen, who, among other grounds of self-gratulation, affirms, "There was not any famine in my day, and no hunger under my government;" and curiously enough, in a tomb of Abydos, at this period, were buried several overseers of the corn placed in the royal granaries, precisely like the "officers" appointed in Joseph's time for the same purpose.⁶¹ Indeed, if we might venture to follow the learned but boldly speculative Brugsch Bey in his latest work, we should find a definite allusion to the very famine in connection with which Joseph rose to power. The author reminds us, first, of the general admission, in accordance with the tradition preserved by Syncellus, that Joseph's administration was in the time of the shepherd kings; and, secondly, of the record of Rameses II., dated four hundred years from the time of one of these monarchs, corresponding so nearly with the four hundred and thirty years' interval between the entrance into Egypt and the

address of a taskmaster to his builders, thus: "My stick is in my hand: thou must not be idle." See Exod. v. 14, 16, 17.

⁶¹ Gen. xli. 34, 35. The facts from the monuments are given by Birch, *History*, pp. 65, 66. The whole hieroglyphic text of the inscription at Beni-Hassan, with a literal translation, is given in Birch's *Selected Egyptian Texts*, Egypt's Place, v. 726-730.

Exodus, the last being supposed to have taken place under the son of Rameses. And after this preface he lays before us the following inscription, found near El Kab, in the tomb of one Baba, whom Brugsch, for various reasons, refers to the seventeenth dynasty, the time of the shepherd kings: "I have been of a kindly heart, without bitterness; the gods have granted me prosperity upon the earth; my fellow-citizens have wished me life and prosperity in the city of El Kab. . . . I have amassed wheat, loving the good god; I have watched the seed-time. When a famine had broken forth during many years, I gave wheat to the city during each famine."

The comment of Brugsch on "the famine that had broken forth during many years" is as follows: "Since such a calamity is of the greatest rarity, since history knows but one case of the kind, the seven years' famine in the time of Joseph, and since this inscription dates from a time which clearly approaches the epoch of Joseph, we arrive at the curious and important fact that the many years' famine in Egypt in the lifetime of Baba, about the end of the seventeenth dynasty, refers directly to the same event to which the Scriptures refer when they speak of seven years of famine in Egypt and in all other countries of the world." The writer also affirms that the text itself is perfectly simple and clear, and thinks that the most rigid criticism cannot object to his conclusion.⁶² I leave it on his authority. It is at least valuable as an illustration.

Late explorations cast light upon the history of Zoan, which is now known to have been a fine city and a court residence of the shepherd kings and of some of their successors. Some of their likenesses, in stone, are now in the

⁶² *Histoire*, second edition, pp. 177, 178.

museum at Cairo. Here Moses may have encountered Pharaoh, and here, as will be mentioned hereafter, the circumstances indicate that in his infancy he may have been exposed in the Nile.

Indeed, it was confidently thought for a time that we had reached some Egyptian records which make direct mention of the Hebrews themselves and their doings. The cities built by the Hebrews were called Pithom and Rameses. Now a papyrus of the time of Rameses II. informs us that the Pharaoh erected a chain of fortified cities from Pelusium to Heliopolis, two of which bore the names of Pacthum and Ramses.⁶³ They were situated in the wady Tumilat. "The papyri," says Brugsch, "make known especially two cities situated on this canal (which ran through the valley), the importance of which is placed beyond doubt by many passages of inscriptions, and which were fortified by one King Rameses. These cities are the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Bible mentions them, under the names of Pithom and Rameses, as being built by the Jews."⁶⁴

It has even been supposed by some eminent Egyptologists that they had found the Hebrews mentioned by name, as engaged at their work, under their overseers, perhaps on these very strongholds. A papyrus in the Leyden Museum contains a report of the scribe Keniamun to his superior

⁶³ Or, as Birch gives them, Pa-khatem en Garu and Paramessu, Hist. p. 131.

⁶⁴ Histoire, first edition, p. 156. The same thing he repeated in 1864, in *Aus dem Orient*, part ii. p. 35. But in his last edition of the History he has changed his location of Rameses out of Wady Tumilat to Sân; whereas all that can be legitimately inferred from late discoveries, as is remarked by Dr. J. P. Thompson (*Zeitschrift für Aeg. Spr.* 1874, p. 153), "is that the name of Ramses was given to a quarter of Tanis appropriated to the royal residence." Dr. T. refers appropriately to the showing by Ebers (*Durch Gosen*, pp. 498-504), that there was more than one place Ramses, and to the *non sequitur* of assuming, that because the quarter occupied as a royal residence in Sân was called Ramses, therefore there was no city or fortress Ramses in Wady Tumilat.

Hui, who was one of the high officers of Rameses II. He writes thus: "I have heard the command of the eye of my Lord, give corn to the soldiers and the Aperu [Hebrews?] who carry stones to the fortification of the city of King Rameses, beloved of Amun, and who are under the orders of Ameneman, the captain of the soldiery. I gave the corn monthly, according to the excellent command which my Lord has given me."⁶⁵ This word "Aperu," or Aperiu, first brought specially to notice by M. Chabas in 1862, was somewhat generally recognized as equivalent to "Hebrew."

The name occurs in three other instances. On an inner wall of the temple at Karnak, among the lists of people subdued by Thothmes III., as pointed out to me on the spot by Mr. Smith, of Luxor, are these same "Aperu." This fact, as Mr. Birch suggests, throws considerable doubt upon the identity of the two names. Still, it is not difficult to understand that the victorious monarch might enumerate not only the subjugated nations abroad, but also a great subject people in his own land, more numerous than some of the foreign nations enumerated, and equally distinct.

In a document of which M. Chabas has given an account, and a translation in part, occurs the mention of 2083 Aperu in the reign of Rameses III.⁶⁶ The inscription of Hamamat, according to the same author, mentions the Aperu under Rameses IV.

It well illustrates, however, the uncertainty of many of

⁶⁵ Cited from Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 502. The full hieroglyphic text and translation is given by Birch in his "Selected Texts," in Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, v. 736. In that volume he raises no question of the soundness of the identification.

⁶⁶ *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, 1866, pp. 211, 212. M. Chabas explains the matter by supposing that not all the Hebrews responded to the call of Moses; but that, in accordance with their general tenacity of place, and their special obduracy in this instance, many had remained in Egypt.

the identifications of proper names, that after this word had been accepted as the Egyptian equivalent for the Hebrews by not only Chabas, but by Birch, Lenormant, Ebers, and others, yet quite recently Brugsch has taken the ground that this name has nothing to do with the Hebrews, but designated a Semitic tribe dwelling between the Nile and the Red Sea. This very positive dissent must leave the question in doubt till further expressions of assent or dissent shall come from other competent sources. Dr. Birch also writes (in a private letter): "I have always doubted the Aperu, or Aperiu, as Hebrews." He doubts because the name "occurs as early as Thothmes III. and descends to captives as late as Rameses X.—facts difficult to reconcile with an exodus in the interval," although he adds, "not impossible."

Here too should enter the story of Manetho, quoted by Josephus, concerning the lepers, who, headed by Osarsiph or Moses, made their way in an immense body out of Egypt to Syria; which narrative it is difficult not to recognize as a prejudiced, bitter, and blurred account of the same Hebrews and their final triumph over the monarchy of Egypt, and their withdrawal to their own land.

From this point it would only remain to follow the names that still linger traditionally along the way they took out of Egypt through Sinai—Moses's Wells, Pharaoh's Hot Baths, Moses's Seat, the Desert of the Wandering, and other legendary places along the way; and we thus trace the contact of the two nations from the beginning to the end of their relationship, by indications which, though not obtrusive, are yet among the clearest of all the lines of ancient history.

More than this kind of evidence we need not at present claim, nor, indeed, desire. The latent and subtile connections and circumstantial adjustments are more inimitable

and unquestionable than open and direct statements, which are often suspicious, and still oftener suspected.

Meanwhile, we must recognize, notwithstanding occasional and external transfusions of customs, the deep and fundamental separation between the inner spirit and the vital institutions and notions of the Pentateuch and the monuments. There has arisen within the few years past a spurious science, which has preposterously endeavored to overlook this immense gulf between them, and to intimate, or even to assert, that for their religious views also the Hebrew nation were directly indebted to the Egyptians. One of the latest and most unfounded statements from a respectable source, appears in the last edition of Brugsch's *History of Egypt* (1875), in which he speaks thus: "The forty-two laws of the Egyptian religion which are contained in the 125th chapter of the 'Book of the Dead,' fall in no respect below the Christian doctrines; and we must believe, when we study the texts of the monuments, that the Jewish legislator Moses has drawn up his moral laws on the model of the religious precepts of the Egyptians."⁶⁷

Now, such a statement derives its respectability only from the distinguished name of its author, as will be seen by a moment's inspection. These forty-two "laws" are precisely as follows. The deceased person is represented as addressing "Osiris and the forty-two demons of the dead, each of whom presides over some particular sin or fault," and affirming his innocence of these several sins in the following words:⁶⁸ "I have not—(1) been idle; (2) waylaid; (3) boasted; (4) stolen; (5) smitten men privily; (6) counterfeited rings; (7) played the hypocrite; (8) stolen the things of the

⁶⁷ Brugsch, *Histoire*, second edition, p. 17.

⁶⁸ I quote exactly Birch's translation of the *Book of the Dead*, omitting the addresses to the "demons," and not repeating the phrase "I have not."

gods; (9) told falsehoods; (10) spared food; (11) caused to weep; (12) rejected; (13) been idle; (14) eaten the heart; (15) plundered; (16) killed sacred beasts; (17) made conspiracies; (18) robbed the streams; (19) been deaf; (20) let my mouth wander; (21) robbed things; (22) corrupted women or men; (23) polluted myself; (24) caused fear; (25) plundered; (26) burnt my mouth; (27) been inattentive to the words of truth; (28) blasphemed; (29) put forth my arm; (30) made delays or dawdled; (31) hastened my heart; (32) clipped the skins of sacred beasts; (33) multiplied words in speaking; (34) lied or done any wicked sin; (35) reviled the face of the king or of my father; (36) defiled the river; (37) made length of [loud] words; (38) blasphemed God; (39) injured the gods or calumniated the slave to his master; (40) made his things, made his account, ordered; (41) augmented his . . . taken the clothes of the dead; (42) despised a god in my heart, or to his face, or in things."

Here several facts are to be noticed: First, in the words of Bunsen, "these things are principally of a general nature, such as are common to all codes of morals and religion. Some, however, are of a local character, and refer to the neglect of particular formulæ, or sacrifices of a special nature." Secondly, it proceeds on the basis of polytheism and idolatry; "stolen the things of the gods;" "injured the gods." Thirdly, it is a *purely negative code* throughout, never rising in a single instance higher than the claim not to have done certain things. Fourthly, it is purely a superficial code, dealing with physical acts almost exclusively. Two of its forty-two "principles" do indeed allude to the "heart," but no stress whatever is laid on the regulation of the spirit. What a contrast to the beatitudes of Christ; at the highest point, what a difference between this mere "way-

laying" and "corrupting women or men" and the Saviour's murder and adultery in the heart! Fifthly, this enumeration contains not the slightest hint of some of the characteristic precepts of Christianity, such as meekness, forgiveness, universal benevolence, to say nothing of faith, love, resignation toward God. And yet these are the "laws," which are in no respect inferior to (*ne le cèdent en rien*) the Christian doctrines. And as to the model which Moses found for his "moral laws," the most remarkable refutation of the suggestion stands in the very fore-front of the Decalogue. For while some writers claim to discover traces of monotheism in the earlier monuments of the Egyptians; and while it may be conceded that a growing degeneracy of religious views and practices can be recognized in Egypt, yet it remains true that the Book of the Dead, and all the actual writings and records of Moses's time and previous times, are brimful of the grossest polytheism and idolatry. Yet the code of Moses in its two opening injunctions cuts up the whole system, root and branch, while its closing precept, "Thou shalt not covet," rises into a region of which probably not a hint can be found in all the Egyptian writings. And though it would be strange indeed if a nation so ancient and well regulated as Egypt should not furnish many maxims and methods which could be wisely adopted by another people, yet a careful comparison of the whole religious, moral, and civil institutions of the two nations discerns a contrast than which nothing could well be more complete. And the only claim more unfounded than this of Brugsch was the pretence of an American theologian to have found in Egypt the doctrines of the atonement and justification by faith.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAND OF GOSHEN.

THE general location of Goshen is well determined, and a part of its territory agreed upon. Its extent is more an open question. The Scripture has furnished several points of identification. Some part of it was near the seat of government, or, at least, near where Joseph was.¹ It lay toward Palestine,² away from the centre of Egyptian population.³ It was eminently fertile.⁴ A part of it was within three days' march of the Eastern desert, and apparently not through a hostile country. From the common rendezvous two ways lay before the Hebrews: one, that was "near," by the land of the Philistines; the other by the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea.⁵ The scene of the miraculous plagues was in the "fields of Zoan;"⁶ and the home of Moses's mother was not only near to the Nile, but evidently to a part or channel of the Nile where there was no danger of crocodiles: It is natural to understand also that Rameses, and probably Pithom, lay within this region. It is once called the land of Rameses.⁷

It is generally agreed that Goshen included the wady Tumilat. This is a narrow fertile strip lying some thirty-five miles north of the latitude of Cairo, and extending from the Nile delta to the eastern edge of Egypt. A lit-

¹ Gen. xlv. 10.² Gen. xlv. 29; xlvii. 1, 5, 6, 11.³ Gen. xlv. 33, 34.⁴ Gen. xlvii. 6, 11.⁵ Exod. xiii. 17, 18.⁶ Psa. lxxviii. 12, 43.⁷ Gen. xlvii. 11.

the north of Cairo the two limestone ridges that shut in the Nile, break down and swing off to the north-east and the north-west respectively, making room for the delta. The north-eastern line, greatly reduced in height, opens at a place nearly east of Zagazig, and lets a narrow tapering valley or depression of surface shoot directly east, almost to Birket Timsah, the Crocodile Lake. It is the wady Tumilat. Occasionally, according to M. de Lesseps,⁸ the waters of the Nile, at their height, have found their way along this depression nearly or quite to Lake Ballah on the north-east.

Along this same valley a canal, in very ancient times, connected the Nile with the Red Sea. Herodotus ascribes it to Pharaoh-Necho,⁹ who destroyed one hundred and twenty thousand men in the unfinished work; and he says that it was completed by Darius the Persian. On the line of this old canal have been found tablets inscribed with the name of Darius in the wedge-shaped characters.¹⁰ But the origin of the canal was far older than this, and goes back as far as to the time of "Sesostris," or Rameses II. So say Aristotle, Strabo, and Pliny; and not only the sculpturings at Karnak, but the discovery of one or more inscriptions with the name of Rameses along the line of the canal, are thought to confirm the statement. This view is accepted by the great authorities in Egyptology, Lepsius, Brugsch, Bunsen, Wilkinson, Mariette, Birch, and others.¹¹

⁸ Conference de M. F. de Lesseps à Lyon, p. 16.

⁹ Herodotus, ii. 158.

¹⁰ One found "near the embouchure of the ancient canal" bore his name in the cuneiform character (Rawlinson's Herodotus, ii. 205); and others bear the name both in Persian (cuneiform) and Egyptian (Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 472).

¹¹ Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ägypter*, p. 351; Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's Herodotus, ii. 205; Mariette, *Aperçu de l'Histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 60; Bunsen's *Egypt's Place*, iii. 181; Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, i. 135; Birch, *History of Egypt*, p. 122. So also Rawlinson, *Ancient History*, p. 35; Maspero, *Histoire*

This would make the canal older than the Exodus, according to the common opinion as to the reign in which that event took place. Along this valley and on the line of this canal probably lay the "treasure cities," store cities or strongholds, Pithom and Rameses, the former toward the western opening, the latter toward its eastern limit, perhaps some twelve miles from the Crocodile Lake. Pithom has been found, by the almost unanimous consent of modern scholars, in the Patumos of Herodotus and the Thoum of the *Iter Antoninum*, which are also identified with Paa-tum of the hieroglyphics. The Greek historian relates that the canal "leaves the Nile a little above Bubastis, near Patumos."¹² The *Iter Antoninum* places it on the road from Heliopolis to Pelusium, between Vicus Judæorum and Tacasarthā.¹³ The former place is identified as the modern Tell el Yahodeh. The hieroglyphics mention "Paa-tum at the entrance of the East."¹⁴ Some diversity

Ancienne, p. 226. Mariette and Brugsch, indeed, attribute it to Seti, the father of Rameses II. Some confusion has existed on this subject from the diverse, though perhaps not contradictory, statements of the classic writers. Aristotle says that Sesostris, and afterward Darius, undertook the work. Strabo speaks of both, and adds Pharaoh-Necho. Herodotus ascribes it to Pharaoh-Necho and Darius. Lepsius combines these statements, and continues the history thus: Rameses II., "beyond all doubt," made the canal from Bubastis to Seba Biar; Pharaoh-Necho carried it to the Bitter Lakes; Darius from the Bitter Lakes to the Red Sea. Ptolemy widened it between the Bitter Lakes and the sea, made an artificial sluice-way, and built Arsinoë on the sea. Trajan opened a new canal from Babylon to Heroopolis (near Seba Biar). Omar (A.D. 644) reopened the interrupted connection, and Mohammed Abdullah (A.D. 767) closed the canal. *Chronologie der Ägypter*, p. 356. The French Expedition found not only the bass-relief figure and names of Rameses on the line of the canal at Aboo Kesheb, but between the Bitter Lakes and the sea a Persian monument bearing the name of Darius.

¹² Herodotus, ii. 158.

¹³ Quoted from Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 357. Hengstenberg adds (Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 50, American translation), but, as I suppose, without authority, that it was twelve miles from Heroopolis.

¹⁴ Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 497. The spelling varies.

of opinion exists as to the precise locality thus indicated, although the range is small. Schleiden would find Pithom near Tell el Kebeer:¹⁵ Hengstenberg a few miles (four or five) farther west, at Abassieh, at the entrance of Wady Tumilat;¹⁶ but Lepsius, Wilkinson, Ebers, and others have fixed upon Tell Aboo Soliman, about six miles south-east of Tell el Kebeer.¹⁷ The several sites all lie within a radius of some three or four miles.¹⁸

But when we seek to limit the land of Goshen to this small valley, as some would do (*e. g.*, Schleiden, apparently, and Mr. Poole), we are met by difficulties arising as well from its limited extent as from the indications that certain places outside of this valley belonged to the Goshen of Israel's residence. Thus Mr. Poole finds the area of this wady to be but about sixty geographical square miles; and though restricting the Hebrew population to two millions, he is obliged to allow the enormous average of more than thirty thousand to the square mile. Moreover, the region seems to have bordered on the Nile at a place where Pharaoh, during a part of the time, had his residence. The court residence which best answers the conditions of the narrative is Zoan, Tanis, Sân. This would involve the sup-

¹⁵ Landenge von Suez, p. 175.

¹⁶ Egypt and the Books of Moses, p. 50.

¹⁷ Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 197. He cites Lepsius and Wilkinson as holding this view with him. But Lepsius, in his *Chronologie*, gives the location a little indefinitely, as opposite to Bubastis, at the entrance of the valley. Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 206) describes it as "the ruined town opposite Tell el Wadec, six miles east of the mouth of the [ancient] canal," and about thirty-eight miles from the Bitter Lakes.

¹⁸ Brugsch, who formerly took the same view, in his recent attempt to revolutionize the geography of Goshen and the Exodus, finds Pithom far away from this place, near the south-eastern point of Lake Menzaleh, and due east of Sân (*L'Exode et les Monuments*, pp. 9, 11, and map). Birch (*History*, p. 131) apparently finds it at Heroopolis.

position that the adjacent territory eastward was occupied by the Hebrews.

Accordingly, recent writers have usually assigned to the land of Goshen more or less of the territory lying between Sâh and Wady Tumilat. While Schleiden speaks cautiously of this wady as forming "the essential part of Goshen," "its kernel,"¹⁹ Robinson says that Goshen lay along the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile (on both sides), on the east of the Delta, and was that part of Egypt nearest to Palestine, which is included in the modern province of Shurkiyeh.²⁰ This province he ascertained to be "the best province in Egypt," even as Goshen was in ancient times "the best of the land."²¹ The province of Shurkiyeh, it seems, includes Wady Tumilat, and extends westward to the Tanitic branch of the Nile. It accordingly coincides somewhat nearly with the region which Hengstenberg, Ebers, and others would ascribe to Goshen. Hengstenberg defines Goshen as the region east of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, extending as far as the Isthmus of Suez on the border of the Arabian desert.²² And Ebers would bound it westerly by a line extending from Sâh to On, or Heliopolis, and southerly by the curved line bending round in the valley from On to the Crocodile Lake. The eastern (and southeastern) border is understood by him to have been marked by a wall or line of fortresses, built, according to Diodorus,²³ by "Sesostris," and extending from Pelusium to Heliopolis. Within or on the borders of this territory lay Heliopolis (On, Beth-Shemesh), the city of Onias (Tell Yahodeh), Belbeis, Fakoos, Pithom, Rameses, Tahpanhes (Tell Daphneh), and Pelusium. The shallow salt lake Menzaleh, in the

¹⁹ Die Landenge, pp. 174, 176. So also Stephan, *Heutige Aegypten*, p. 125.

²⁰ *Biblical Researches*, i. 76.

²¹ Gen. xlvii. 6.

²² *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 45.

²³ Diodorus, i. 57.

northern part, which now covers so large a space, formerly had a much smaller extent, as is proved by ruins (*e. g.*, Tennes) partly under water. Three arms of the Nile, which then flowed through and fertilized this region, the Tanitic, Pelusiac, and Mendesian, have long since ceased to perform their functions. Large portions of this lake are but a few inches deep, and it is conceded that much of this shoal region, now rendered useless by its thin covering of salt water, "was formerly one of the most fruitful regions of Egypt."²⁴ Its low land, always moist and marshy, would naturally form a place of pasturage. Portions of the adjacent territory are still used for pasture grounds. In the region of Sân, Macgregor found "all the vast plain deep brown in color, not the sombre hue of wild, bleak savagery, but that of a rich, mellow soil."²⁵ The same writer mentions a neighboring village, called "Gosein." But a more probable supposed reminiscence of the early name is found by Dümichen, Brugsch,²⁶ and others, in the modern name of the place, Fakoos, or Faqus. The Greek name was Phacusa; the Septuagint, Gesem and Geseu; the monumental, Geseu and Gosen; the Coptic, Quos. The last syllable of the word Fakoos is supposed to contain the root of the name Goshen, and the first syllable to be simply the article.

On the whole, we may properly accept the broader boundaries of Goshen indicated by Hengstenberg and others, including the city of Zoan or Sân. Some of the most important Egyptian discoveries have within a few years been made by Mariette Bey at Sân. The ruins had for a long time been recognized as those of a great city. Here, through a level "tract of rich black loam, without fences

²⁴ Stephan, *Heutige Aegypten*, p. 11.

²⁵ Rob Roy on the Jordan, p. 72.

²⁶ Brugsch, *L'Exode*, p. 8.

or towns, and with only a dozen trees in sight," winds the stream or canal, now called the Mushra, once the Tanitic branch of the Nile. A little way from the eastern bank of this stream is an enclosing amphitheatre of mounds, dark red, with fragments of ancient pottery, and rising at the highest point some two hundred feet above the water. Midway within this enclosure lies a great mass of mounds, which a few years ago were uncovered by the forced labor of five hundred men at a time, under the orders of Mariette Bey. The result disclosed "one of the grandest and oldest ruins in the world," extending about a mile in length and three-quarters of a mile in breadth, and comprising three large temples.

Among the ruins of these temples, consisting of enormous pillars and heaps of wall-stones, lie some ten obelisks, and from twenty to thirty great monolith statues of porphyry and red and gray granite. The oldest of the temples is supposed by Mariette Bey to belong to the sixth dynasty. The names of three monarchs of the twelfth dynasty indicate the importance of the city then. Statues with Asiatic features (now to be seen in the Boulak Museum) and sphinxes bearing the name of Apepi (Apappos), the king, perhaps, of Joseph's time; and certain inscriptions go to show that here the shepherd kings, Asiatic invaders, had their capital, adopting in the main the customs of the land. A curious hint of these Asiatic relations is thought by some to have been found in the connection of facts implied in the statement that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan of Egypt. It was not till long after the expulsion of these invaders by Aahmes, of the eighteenth dynasty, that the city seems to have regained its ancient importance. Rameses the Great restored its magnificence, adopted the shepherd kings among his ancestry, and inscribed his name in abun-

dant instances. His son Menephtha left here several inscriptions and a red granite statue of himself. Here was an arm of the Nile combining three things not found in the main stream at Memphis: a current slow enough not to endanger the ark and the child within it, reeds along the edge of its more sluggish waters, and the absence of crocodiles, which the monuments would indicate to have frequented the river at Memphis. If we could safely accept the opinion of Lenormant, the earlier view of Brugsch and others, that Zoan is the same with the Avaris of Manetho, we should find a singular coincidence with the Scripture history, in the habit of the shepherd king Salatis, at least, of residing during the harvest time at Avaris.²⁷

The wady Tumilat, lying in this territory, as already described, and forming an important part of it, with its canal running eastward, would furnish a facile line of march, and a supply of water for man and beast, on the way out of Egypt.

Somewhere in this valley of Tumilat lay the city of Ramesses, and modern writers have quite generally agreed to find it at Aboo Kesheb (or Mashuta, in the eastern part of the valley, twelve or fourteen miles from Crocodile Lake.²⁸ Several circumstances point to this conclusion. A considerable mass of ruins has been found there, and among them

²⁷ The identity of Avaris with Zoan is assumed in Smith's *Student's Ancient History of the East*, and declared to be proved by the researches of Mariette Bey. Lenormant (*Histoire*, i. 162) assumes it. But Bunsen, Lepsius, Ebers, Schleiden, and, in his *L'Exode et les Monuments*, Brugsch, identify Avaris with Pelusium.

²⁸ Among them may be mentioned Champollion, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Lengerke, Gesenius, Robinson, Lepsius, Keil, Mariette, Ebers, Schleiden. In the first edition of his *History* Brugsch took the same view in the most positive manner. In his recent treatises he finds it at Sân; Stiekel and Fürst advocate Belbeis; Sharpe and Tischendorf, following Josephus, decide for Heliopolis; Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* for Abassiyeh, or Abasseh.

a granite block containing on one side the figure of Rameses II. seated between the gods Ra and Thum, and on the other his name inscribed six times.²⁹ The enclosing walls are of sun-dried bricks, mixed with straw, specimens of which now lie in the Berlin Museum.³⁰ The situation, on the ancient canal, and within two days' march of the edge of the desert, suits the Biblical conditions. The Saltier papyrus records that Rameses II., on his return from the conquest of the Khita (or Hittites) arrived in the city of Rameses;³¹ and another papyrus places Rameses apparently between the proper Delta and the desert.³² Furthermore, the Septuagint (in Gen. xlv. 28) substitutes Heroopolis for Rameses, and it is somewhat well settled that Heroopolis was either at Aboo Kesheb or its immediate vicinity.³³ And while no one consideration is decisive as to the site of Rameses, the combination of reasons has led to a somewhat general agreement, and the more readily in the absence of any clear competitor. The place itself presents no special features of interest. The French Expedition, who, I believe, first called attention to it, and suggested its identification with Rameses, describe it as "an extensive heap of ruins, which indicate the position of an ancient city," and add that "upon the point of a little hill which is formed by these ruins, there lies a great granite block, upon which in *relievo* are hewn out three Egyptian deities," or rather two deities, and Rameses between.³⁴

I saw the western line of this land of Goshen, and passed through its chief valley. The first portion of it that fell

²⁹ Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 348.

³⁰ Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 501.

³¹ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 145.

³² Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 502.

³³ Hengstenberg, *Egypt, etc.*, p. 55. Lepsius finds it at Mukfar, a short distance east. *Chronologie*, p. 345.

³⁴ Quoted by Hengstenberg from the *Description*, xi. 376.

under my observation was the site of On, or Heliopolis, if this be included in it. It lies just north of Cairo. An anatomical span of horses and an obsolete barouche conveyed us thither in about an hour and a half. On our way we passed the barrack-looking palace, the Abbaseyah, where Abbas Pacha lived, keeping his watchman on a high tower, and swift dromedaries all saddled in the stable, in the vain hope of escaping assassination. Farther along was the Koobah palace, occupied by the harem of the Khédive. In the vicinity we met his son in an English carriage, with two outriders, and in another partly open carriage, attended by eunuchs, two ladies of the vice-regal family. The thinnest of veils did not prevent our seeing that these ladies, as they dashed by, were fine-looking, having marble faces, and the large eyes and long black eyelashes which we associate with Oriental beauty.

A considerable part of the way was through avenues, and part of the drive through extensive plantations, of trees, which the Nile water had in fifteen years made to flourish luxuriantly in the sand, and on which oranges were now hanging in vast numbers. One great lack here and elsewhere is the green sod. Every part of the soil that is not steadily watered is perfectly dry, and presents a most uninviting aspect to a European eye. Just beyond the Koo-bah, we crossed the battle-field where, in 1800, Kléber defeated the Turks, retaking Cairo. About half a mile before reaching On, we turned aside a little at Matarceah, to see, in an extensive garden or orchard, "the Virgin's tree," a large sycamore, under which the Holy Family rested, of course. It is very old, well carved with names, mangled of its twigs and branches, and now protected by a fence. The Coptic owner will furnish a few leaves for a small backsheesh.

From this point the ancient obelisk of Heliopolis, or rather Beth-Shemesh, as it then was, came in sight, and we soon stood before it. Although five or six feet of it are covered up by the Nile deposits, it still rises sixty-two feet above the soil. It is the oldest in Egypt. On two sides the inscriptions are partly obliterated, or covered by large numbers of wasps' nests; but on the other sides, the name of Osirtasen of the twelfth dynasty stands out as legible as when Jacob and his sons came down to Egypt. Only the foundations of its companion obelisk have been discovered, and some fragments of the former avenue of sphinxes. An oblong space seven-eighths of a mile in length, surrounded by mounds and remains of crude brick walls, is supposed to have formed the open area of the Temple of the Sun. To the north-west you walk over acres of mounds, rising fifty feet or more above the level of the plain, and showing the remains of sun-dried bricks, mingled through and through with broken pottery. The city lay too near Cairo to have much left for the antiquarian, after having continued for eighteen hundred years substantially a deserted place.

We next arranged for an excursion up the western line of Goshen, hoping to visit Sân. But through the difficulty of procuring exact information, we were obliged to stop short of Sân, in order to keep our appointment with our dragoman at Suez. There is no regular route to that place, and, owing to changes in the arrangements of the canals, it is difficult for any one to indicate the best route. After inquiring of Dr. Grant, of the Rev. Andrew Watson, and through him of a native preacher, we started by rail for Aboo Kebeer, whence four hours' ride on donkeys was to bring us to Sân. We could thus return in season for our appointment at Suez. Accompanied by a bright English-

speaking Arab, as interpreter and general servant, and well supplied with provisions from the hotel, on February 2d we took the morning train. Emerging from the trees which surround the city, and passing the mounds of Heliopolis, our way held on through green fields of grain and cotton springing from a rich dark loam, diversified with occasional patches of flax not yet balled, but in the blossom. The crops were in every stage except ripeness. The valley was bordered on the right by a distant line of sand-hills, which, after we passed Belbeis, disappeared, leaving a vast green plain, broken by channels and embankments for irrigation, and relieved by groups of palms and acacias.

A halt of some hours at Zagazig gave time to visit Tell Basta. It is the Bubastis of the Greeks and Romans, the Poubaste of the Coptic, the Pibeseth of the Old Testament, the Bast, Bahest, Ha-bahest of the hieroglyphics, all these variations presenting the fundamental form of Pasht, the cat-headed goddess, to whom the principal temple was dedicated. It was in the western border of Goshen. Southeast of the railway station lay a long line of high and in many places precipitous mounds, extending perhaps a mile and a half from north to south, and sloping off westward to the level of the plain. Ascending the north-western slope, and following a depression in the embankment, we descended into a large circular area nearly a quarter of a mile in diameter, above which the surrounding embankment rose in some places apparently a hundred and fifty feet or more. In the middle of this area lay three heaps of fine red granite, twenty or thirty rods apart. They lie in excavated places below the surface of the plain; and they mark the site of the great temple of Pasht, that was five hundred feet long, and was visible on all sides from the surrounding city, the latter having been built above and around it,

just as Herodotus saw and described it.³⁵ Few of the fragments now remaining show marks of elaborate workmanship. I saw here a leg, and there an arm, and then a line of hieroglyphics, carved in the granite. The soil in various places was white with nitre. I picked up a straw near one of the heaps of fragments, and the strong saltpetre taste of its white coating was unmistakable. I was standing in the capital of King Shishak, and on the site of the most attractive temple that Herodotus saw in Egypt. The monarch himself who is said to have raised this city to eminence left no permanent token here; but the perpetual name of Rameses II. was found inscribed among the ruins. The elevation of the city around seemed to be artificial, and to have been, at least in part, the result of building houses upon the ruins of others. Various clefts and excavations disclosed at every stage, from top to bottom, the distinct strata and forms of crude bricks. The same appearance presented itself, as we returned, all along our way across the mound, a quarter of a mile, wherever there was an excavation. Nowhere were burned bricks to be seen except in places comparatively superficial. Fragments of pottery, as usual, were not only strewn along the surface, but through the whole body of the mound.

We continued our way by rail to Aboo Kebeer, passing no object of special interest. The region exhibited the usual characteristics of the Delta, a good soil and growing crops. Aboo Kebeer is a pleasant little village, distinguished in our recollections as almost the only place in Egypt where we were not assailed with one call for backsheesh, but received the most civil treatment. But we learned that Sâh was eleven hours' distant, instead of four, and a visit would re-

³⁵ Herodotus, ii. 138.

quire three days, or two days more than our expectations anticipated or our engagements for the Wilderness would permit. After ten minutes' consultation we yielded the point, and consoled ourselves that a general survey of the region was more important than a personal visit to a ruin where we could hope to add nothing to the researches of Mariette Bey, but enjoy only the satisfaction of looking at a site seven years younger than Hebron. But we had a night to spend in Aboo Kebeer. There was no such thing as a hotel in the place. A resident Greek courteously invited us to occupy one room in his house and another in his neighbor's. But as the Arab station-master offered us three compartments in a railway car, we accepted his hospitality, made a hearty meal of the lunch we had brought, enlivened by Arab coffee, slept sound and hard, and awoke next morning a little cold and stiff, but ready for an early excursion.

Not far away was the ruined town Harbayt, the Roman Pharbæthus. We set off on horseback to visit it. We crossed a most fertile plain, green and bright with young crops, and watered as usual by Nile streams, till we came to the channel of the old Tanitic branch of the Nile, on which Harbayt and Sân are both situated. The acacias along the line of the channel, like those we had yesterday seen on the line of the railway, were many of them killed or injured by borers. The reeds or rushes that lined the edges of the still water in the channel naturally suggested the "flags by the river's brink," which perhaps were but a few miles farther down this same channel.

The ruins of Harbayt are of the standard Egyptian type—a high mound of crude brick ruins, here about a mile long and half a mile wide. In various places, however, red bricks were visible, telling of Roman times, and broken pot-

tery everywhere. We saw about a dozen fragments of red and gray granite, chiefly the former, some of which showed marks of the chisel. One of them looked like a shaft injured by fire. The highest elevation was occupied by a minaret and a few Arab dwellings. The ruins are of Roman times, and they show how thoroughly a very considerable city of that date could drop into extinction.

It would have gratified a sentiment could we have proceeded, as we proposed, to Sâh. The place, however, has been sufficiently described, and carefully explored. I had seen at the Boulak Museum many of the objects of interest that could be removed from the place, including the trilingual "Stone of Sâh," a king holding the sceptre, *hyk*, sphynxes with the Asiatic features, the cartouche of Menephta, the mild-faced statue of that monarch, and various smaller objects.

The Great Temple, as already mentioned, dates from the sixth dynasty; the Temple of the East was built by Rameses II.; the Temple of the South bears the name of a Ptolemy.³⁶ Here were found inscriptions of Menephta, one of which calls him "Lord of Avaris," and a stela of unusual interest announcing a certain year of Rameses II. as the four hundredth from Nubti, the shepherd king. Here is an inscription by Apepi, one of those shepherd kings.³⁷ The investigations at Sâh are thought to have essentially increased our knowledge of those kings, and to have confirmed their Asiatic origin, as well as shown their general conformity to the customs of the country they had conquered. It is partly on the strength of inscriptions found here that M. Brugsch in his recent writings would identify Sâh or Paramessu with the Rameses of Exodus.

³⁶ Mariette Bey, *Notice des Principaux Monuments*, pp. 280-283.

³⁷ *Ib.* pp. 284, 286, 290.

We returned from Aboo Kebeer to Zagazig, and on the 4th of February took the train for Suez, where our caravan was to join us. From Zagazig the railway runs almost due east, soon entering and following Wady Tumilat. For a long distance the valley seemed the most productive part of Egypt that I had seen. In its wider parts it may be two miles or more in breadth, growing steadily narrower, till before reaching Ismailia, on the Crocodile Lake (which is by rail forty-seven miles east of Zagazig), it entirely fades out. The railway and the Sweet-water Canal run through its entire length. At very high stages of the Nile, and at rare intervals, the river water has been known to force its way through; although the ordinary limit of its overflow is found at Ras el Wady, a barrier situated a little more than half-way to the lake.³⁸

From Zagazig to the next station, Aboo Hamed (ten miles), the plain was bright and beautiful with green crops, and the view was bounded on the south by a distant line of hills. The fields were intersected by little channels of Nile water, which were bordered by acacias and occasional sycamores, or groups of palms. The low mud-houses and rarely occurring villages were scarcely discernible, and hardly constituted a feature in the landscape. Near Aboo Hamed we crossed the old caravan road to Syria, the great thoroughfare over which had come the conquerors of Egypt and the wise men of Greece, but we passed it so quietly as not to notice the track. Not far from Aboo Hamed lay a small village or cluster of houses in a palm-grove, marking the place Abassieh, which some have thought to be the Ramesses of the Bible.

After leaving this place, the railway was closely skirted

³⁸ Schleiden, Landenge, p. 170. Robinson, i. 73.

on the north by a sheer desert, extending off in low sandy hillocks. On the south side lay a narrow belt of fertile soil, through which passes the Sweet-water Canal, the source of its fertility. We had now left what might be called the delta, and entered the wady. The valley appeared as though it might be reclaimable by Nile water beyond its present limits, and might once have been more widely cultivated. It seemed to me in many places to be not mere sand, but to show some yellowish soil, while numerous tufts of coarse grass and other straggling vegetation gave signs of life. Indeed, the limit of cultivation in this whole country seems to be the limit of irrigation.

The next station (seven miles) is Tell el Kebeer, a large, high village, making a show of numerous white buildings in an abundant growth of trees. Three or four miles in a southerly direction could be seen palm-groves and low mounds, one of the spots, as I supposed, which has been fixed upon for Patumos, or Pithom, which by general consent lay either there or not far away.

Another fourteen miles along this singular strip of green sandwiched in between the two interminable zones of sand brought us to the station Maxamah. In one place only was the southern border of the wady terminated by low hills, still of sand. Just before reaching the station was a shallow lake filled with Nile water. A little beyond the station, as we passed, we could see to the south a low hill or hills scantily sprinkled with vegetation. Here was Tell Mashuta, Aboo or Kesheb (or Keisheib, for it is spelled in several ways), somewhat generally accepted as the Rameses of the Bible. Of course, nothing special could be seen from the train; nor, indeed, does it appear that anything of interest or importance is to be seen or found at the place itself, unless it should be by laborious excavations.

For the fourteen miles beyond Maxamah, the green valley grew gradually smaller and less continuous, until it faded out, although tufts of vegetation scattered on both sides of the track indicated the possibilities of the region. The sand began to lie in heaps and hillocks along our path, rising higher, till, two or three miles before reaching Ismailia, deep cuttings showed portions of it hardened into sandstone, with here and there thin layers that looked like limestone. As we emerged from one of these excavations, suddenly there came in sight a blue sheet of water dotted with vessels, and surrounded with sand on every side but the south-west, where a miniature city relieved the blank.

The water was the Crocodile Lake, and the city was Ismailia, named from Ismail Pacha, its founder. The little city is a singular phenomenon, created within ten years upon a desert surface, yet rejoicing in its fine gardens and choicest shrubbery. But already it was showing signs that the high pressure of its growth was abated. Its hotel accommodations seemed almost empty, and its railway-runners and hangers-on were quite insatiable and irrepressible. The palace built by the Khédive to celebrate the completion of the canal had long been tenantless. Business seemed stagnant, and the aspect of the place was decidedly that of decadence. And we learned that such was the fact. The high tide of prosperity was past, and that faded air was coming on which some of us have seen in the "speculation" towns of America. Extricating ourselves with difficulty from the Arab boys who seized our valises by main force, we soon found the quietest of accommodations in an almost deserted hotel.

Letters with which I was furnished procured me an invitation to breakfast with M. de Lesseps, the distinguished originator of the Suez Canal, a gentleman more familiar



with that portion of Egypt than any other man. At eleven A.M. I went to his house, which is situated among trees and shrubbery from all parts of the world, and had an interesting and suggestive interview of two hours and a half. Though a man of seventy, he had all the briskness of youth, and his French flowed with such lightning-like rapidity as to render it no easy matter to follow him. He had framed a theory of the Exodus, which he kindly jotted down for me upon a map. Some of his information was very important, and his views have a special claim to attention by reason of his thorough familiarity with the region. And although I could not adopt his theory, I derived much aid from the facts he gave me, and great pleasure from the friendly interview.³⁹

On leaving Ismailia by rail for Suez, we soon struck the line of the Sweet-water Canal again. We were now passing out of the Land of Goshen. The sixty miles from this point to Suez were through a barren, desolate country,

³⁹ The main features of his theory are these. He finds Rameses at Aboo Kesheb, and Suceoth at Makfar, a few miles eastward. Etham, if I rightly follow his sketch, was on the edge of the desert, nearly south from Suceoth. The "turn" carried the Hebrews north-easterly to Pihahiroth, on the western border of Lake Timsah, near where M. de Lesseps supposes Thaumasiun afterward to have been. Baal-Zephon he indicates at the high ridge of Serapeum; and near this latter place, north of the Bitter Lakes, he locates the crossing. The theory evidently supposes a marshy or watery region, overflowed at times, and difficult to cross. He regards the "chamseen" from the south-east as bearing an important part in the catastrophe—a wind which comes at the time of harvest, and is so violent as to stop all work. In connection with his statement, he mentioned several facts of interest, *e. g.*: that the salt deposit in the Bitter Lakes is thirty feet thick, with thin layers of soil interposed; that he had seen the northern part of the Gulf of Suez blown almost dry; and that in the region of the Bitter Lakes he himself once, while riding on horseback, became entangled in the morass, and with difficulty escaped. I may have erred in some details of his theory, but the essential points of it are indicated on a map, now lying before me, by his own hand.

which had been wholly worthless before the canal was made. "But it was soon discovered that water was all that was needed to make the sandy wastes really valuable,"⁴⁰ and at one time the managers of the canal had arranged the plan of a highly profitable enterprise in the reclamation and sale of these barren lands. The plan was in some way frustrated; but we passed through some very considerable plantations in the earlier part of the journey. We soon came to two marshy places filled with reeds. These and others similar to them have suggested the theory⁴¹ which finds in the name Pihahiroth the meaning, "place of reeds," and its equivalent in the modern "Guibet el boos"—somewhere near Suez. Very soon the desert took the form of sandy downs, occasionally showing small trees, clumps of shrubs, and tufts of vegetation. These gradually diminished till we arrived at Serapeum (so-called from the neighboring ruins of a supposed temple of Serapis), after which we passed another place of reeds, and soon came in sight of a broad expanse of water, the Bitter Lakes, where before the opening of the canal all was a marsh. The cuttings of the canal here disclosed thin layers of stone not more than six inches thick. The edges of the canal were lined more or less with evergreens. From this point the darkness came on so rapidly that little could be seen.

The morning light in Suez (February 5) offered a fine view of Jebel Atakah,⁴² lying south-west, on the bank of the Red Sea, seemingly near, but some miles away. Its dark-brown precipitous sides, striped with two horizontal lines

⁴⁰ C. H. Rockwell, *The Suez Canal*, p. 18.

⁴¹ Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 796. Brugsch also (*L'Exode*, p. 31) translates Hahiroth "lagoons of papyrus."

⁴² Commonly, but questionably, translated the "Mount of Deliverance."

of white at nearly equal distances above and below, comes down near the water's edge at its northern extremity, and farther south seems to shut down sharply on the sea. It stretched far to the west, and still beyond it could be seen the whitish summits of a lower range of hills. East of us, in the distance, rose the high wall of Jebel er Rahah, the rock edge of the great plateau, the Desert et Tih, of "the Wandering." Close at hand the dark waters of the Red Sea, here the Gulf of Suez, came up to the side of our hotel.

In riding down to the office of the canal company, we passed for some two miles over a causeway or pier built directly out into the gulf. For more than a mile along the northern side of this track, and for nearly another mile south-easterly, the ground was laid bare by the receding tide. It was easy to recognize the south-easterly passage, by which the Arabs could cross at very low stages of the water before the canal company dredged the channel for its steamers. We found the company's engineer, M. Mauriac, to whom I had a letter, extremely courteous. He furnished me with a drawing of the canal excavation (a longitudinal section) from the sea to the Bitter Lakes, and arranged to take us not only about the company's docks, but up the canal and about the head of the gulf. Meanwhile, a French Protestant in the company's employ, who had no minister to call upon, sent a request that I would baptize his child. In fifteen minutes a pleasant and reverent little company was gathered to witness the baptism of Gustave Henri Felix Pelletier; and I am able to testify that in the midst of the Red Sea, where the children of Israel "were baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea," the mode of baptism still is by affusion.

After this M. Mauriac took us out in a little gig-steamer

in front of Jebel Atakah, and as far south as he ventured to go in a rough sea. In the afternoon he kindly came with his miniature steamer to the hotel, and carried us up five or six miles on the canal, that we might see it for ourselves. We landed at the first station, about five miles out. Back of the station the water was standing in large pools, and the station-agent assured us that within a month, in a high storm, the sea had broken over far beyond, and that the water in the rear of the station had been two metres (six and a half feet) deep. The excavation of the canal in this southern portion was through a compact body of sand. But farther north it changes, as will be mentioned in another chapter, and at Chaloof passes through thin strata of solid rock. M. Mauriac described the rock of Chaloof as sloping from the south to the north, and being silicious and extremely hard, manageable only by powder. He added that it was rather a great *rognon* than a true bank or stratum (*banc véritable*), and he mentioned the fact that in this cutting were found teeth of the fossil shark.

A walk of about half a mile north-westerly from Suez brought us to Tell Kholzum, the ancient Clysma. Its distance from the modern shore is regarded as sufficient evidence of the slow process by which the breadth of the gulf has been diminished.⁴³ The mound rises twenty or thirty feet above the general level, and the excavations show in one place crude bricks; in others, pottery, charcoal, bones, shells, and other objects—the remains of a place which sent a “bishop” to the council of Constantinople. Looking north from the top of the mound, the only object to arrest the eye was the heights of Chaloof. On the western side of the canal standing water could be seen for a considera-

⁴³ Robinson, i. 71.

ble distance, which had broken over from the Red Sea in the recent storm.

For two miles south-west of Suez the region presents the manifest appearance of having been filled in by natural causes. It is a formation of sand full of sea-shells, intermixed with occasional thin deposits of salt, and showing residual impurities where the salt has disappeared. In many places there were strata of salt in basins full six feet above the ordinary sea-level, while in various depressions the water was just evaporating or evaporated. The region in general lies considerably above the level of high tide, except when extraordinarily raised by storms. The whole surface, however, over a wide extent, had evidently been overflowed in a recent high wind.

We had ample leisure for such observations at Suez as we chose to make, being delayed there two days in waiting for the last preparations of our dragoman. We had supposed that everything was definitely arranged before we left Cairo. We had held conferences with six or eight dragomans; and, in the absence of the man we had looked for, we had fixed upon Joseph Tannus, a native of Beyroot. He proved to be a competent, accommodating, and, in the main, an honest dragoman. An explicit contract had been signed in the presence of the American consul at Cairo, the tents and equipments there inspected, the camels mounted for trial and dismounted without loss of dignity or equilibrium, the first payment had been made in order to procure supplies, and our trunks had been sent round to meet us at Beyroot.

It seemed ridiculous to be contracting for hotel-board on a journey through the desert where the Israelites went hungering and thirsting, and equally strange to be navigating in a little steamer the waters where the army of Pharaoh

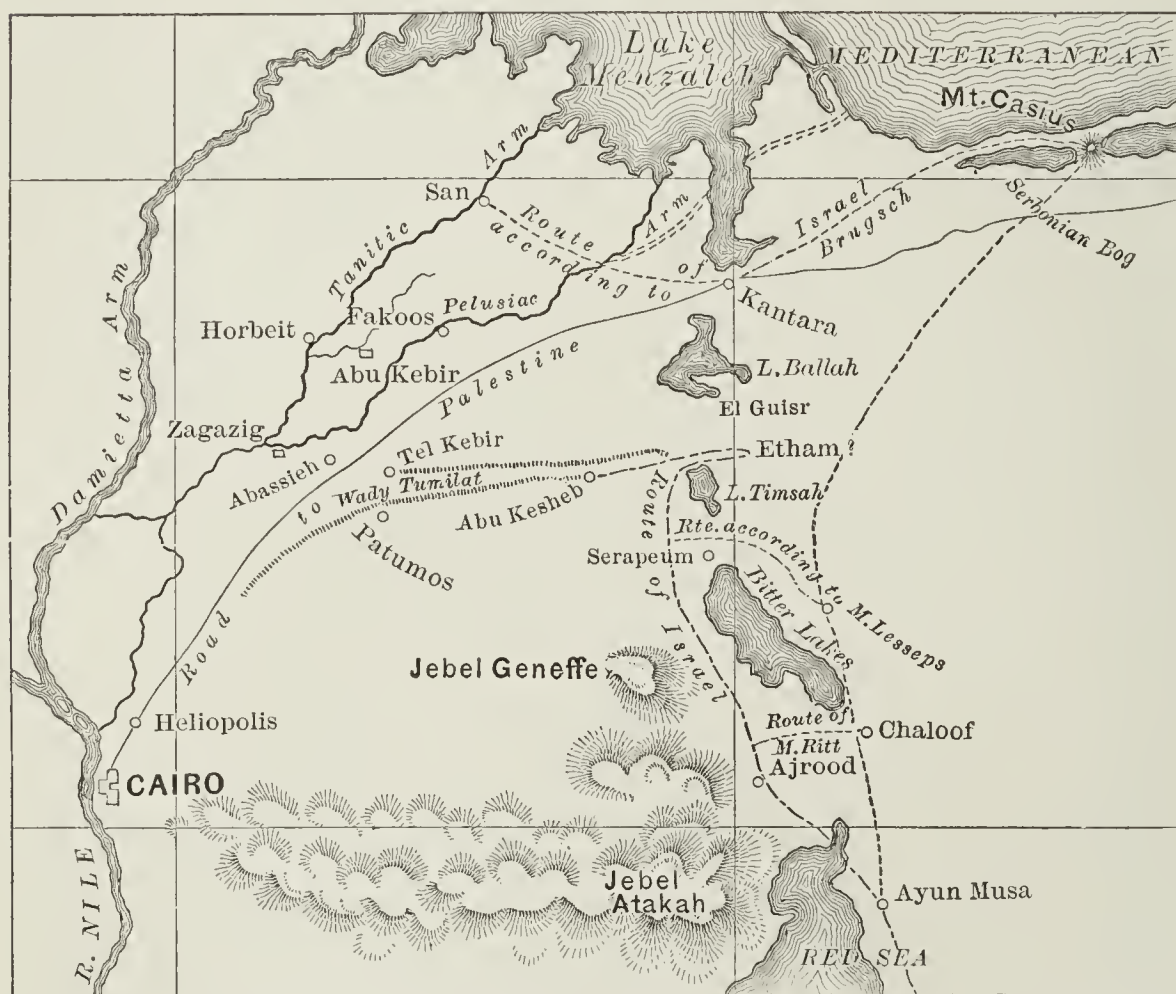
was overwhelmed. But modern custom has made the style of travel through the desert inevitable, and seems to be steadily, and very undesirably, enhancing the expenses of the journey. The professional dragoman feels his standing to be compromised by any inferior contract. And so you must have your soup, three courses of meat, dessert, fruits, and coffee. The journey has become a costly luxury. Our contract was for sixty days or more, and our journey was to take us to Sinai, with such side explorations as we chose to make, thence back to the diverging place of the northern and southern routes from Suez to Sinai, across the desert to Nukhl, through the South Country to and through Palestine. The dragoman was to assume, with his other responsibilities, the payment of all backsheesh, for whatever purposes and on whatever pretext, and was bound by all the customary, and it must be admitted somewhat stringent, but necessary restrictions and conditions. As we were about to plunge into a region where for forty days no news of us, dead or alive, could be conveyed to our friends, it was an unspeakable satisfaction to be able to send from Suez, just before our departure, a telegram which was read in Chicago before we were ten miles on our way; and it was an equal satisfaction at the end of forty days to let them know with equal promptness our safe arrival in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EXODUS.

A SOMEWHAT general agreement of scholars, or at least tendency to agreement on the chief circumstances of the Exodus, enables us sufficiently to reproduce the general features of that transaction, if we do not insist too rigidly on all the details of locality. The difficulty of exactly identifying localities, even after the lapse of a comparatively few years, where no monument has been erected and no intentionally precise description given, is well known. Still greater is the difficulty when the interval is measured by thousands of years, in a land often overrun by conquest, as well as subject to changes of surface, and when the actors were a body of men who made no monuments on the soil, and who were taking their final leave of the country. Indeed, had the attempt been made at the time to write a minute description of the whole line of march, that should enable us exactly to trace it after three thousand years, we may safely say that it would have been impracticable. And yet, notwithstanding the *a priori* difficulties, it is, on the whole, surprising to see how near an approach can be made to a determination of the route by which Israel went up out of Egypt. The exceptional configuration and condition of the country are, and always have been, such as to guide and restrict the movements of large companies; and the ascertainment of a few places goes far toward settling the whole line of march.

The general situation of Goshen is conceded. And whatever question may exist as to its extent, it is agreed that the wady Tumilat was a part of it; was, in the language of Schleiden, "the kernel of it." We may also consider it an admitted fact, that, in accordance with the testimony of Aristotle, Strabo, and Pliny, corroborated by the evidence of ancient remains, and accepted by such writers



MAP OF EASTERN EGYPT AND THE ROUTE OF ISRAEL.

as Bunsen, Brugsch, Wilkinson, and Mariette, the canal from the Nile ran along that wady.

I shall also assume that the configuration of the eastern limits of Egypt was substantially the same as at the present time, with this modification, that the Gulf of Suez, or its lagoons, may have extended somewhat farther to the north, and that the region south of the heights of Chalooof

may since have been filled in somewhat by the drifting sands during three thousand years, and may probably have been at that time a marshy region, crossed by no highway, and virtually impassable. This general view of the case is made quite probable by the discussion of Schleiden.¹ It has been strongly urged by various writers, represented by M. Olivier Ritt, Mr. Poole, and others, that at the time of the Exodus the Red Sea extended as far as the head of the Bitter Lakes, some thirty or forty miles north of its present limits.² For reasons which will presently appear, I cannot accept that view. It is incompatible with the geological facts of the case, unless by assumptions which we have no right to make.

The Isthmus of Suez at its narrowest part is seventy miles wide.³ The canal, indeed, measures one hundred miles (164 kilometres) from Port Said to Suez, but it does not cross the narrowest place nor follow a straight line. Following the line of the canal southward, we pass for many miles through the broad Lake Menzaleh, and reach first a series of sandy downs, the highest point of which is Kantara, "the bridge" between the eastern and the western deserts. Here ran one of the greatest thoroughfares of the world, the highway between Egypt and the East. Passing next the shallow Lake Ballah, we reach El Guisr, the greatest elevation on the isthmus, about ten miles in width, and at its highest point sixty-five feet in height. Then comes Lake Timsah, the "crocodile" lake, midway between the two seas. South of it is the second elevation, the heights of Serapeum, about eight miles broad, and at its

¹ Die Landenge von Suez, von M. J. Schleiden. Leipzig, 1858.

² Histoire de l'Isthme de Suez, par M. Oliviér Ritt, second edition, Paris, 1869. R. S. Poole, Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, American edition, p. 2690.

³ Wilkinson gives it at 76; Schleiden, more exactly, at 72 miles.

highest point sixty-one feet high. South of this lie the Bitter Lakes, a great depression, extending south-easterly some twenty-two miles in length, and from two and a half to five miles in breadth. Their greatest depth is about thirty-five feet below the sea-level. Before the water was admitted in 1867 by the modern canal, this depression was, and had for ages been, dry. The bottom was covered with a layer or layers of salt of great extent (seven miles by five) and of variable thickness, but reaching the depth of thirty-three feet.⁴ Between the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea lies the third and last barrier, the heights of Chaloof, about five miles broad from north to south, and rising for a short distance twenty feet or more above the sea-level. Then follows the sandy plain of Suez for a distance of about ten miles, rising but a few feet (about four on the average) above the level of the sea.

Now, it may be assumed that since the geological times

⁴ Mr. C. H. Roekwell, in a careful article on "Suez," gives the thickness at "from six to twenty inches." But a section drawing of the Suez Canal Company's (kindly furnished me in Suez) shows it to be more than thirty feet. A letter from M. Mauriaë, engineer of the company, now lying before me, also gives it at "ten metres." He writes: "The bank of salt is divided by parallel and horizontal strata of six or seven tenths of a metre in thickness, alternating with thin strata of sand; which shows that this depth has been produced in a long course of periods, when the sea at extraordinary heights traversed the plateau and swept into the lakes. Then, the sea returning to its ordinary limits, the evaporation left a layer of salt, which was afterward covered by a layer of sand brought by the *chamseen*." M. Mauriaë adds, in another letter, that the ridge of Chaloof is now far above the highest known seas, and he holds, for valid reasons presently to be mentioned, that this overflow could not have taken place during the present geological condition of the globe. The ridge of Chaloof, in his opinion, is of the same age with the mountain Geneffé, of which it is a kind of buttress or prolongation. And he says: "As I think that the level of the [Red] sea has not changed sensibly since the great revolutions of the earth have ceased, its extent during the historic times must have been the same as that which existed previous to the construction of the canal." He rests his opinion upon scientific grounds.

the heights of Guisr must have formed an effectual barrier to the Red Sea; and it will hardly be claimed, that within historic times these waters have extended over the ridge of Serapeum. But some reasons have been urged for supposing that in the times of the Exodus the Bitter Lakes were but part of a continuous arm of the Red Sea.

Three circumstances have been adduced for this opinion: first, the deposits of salt found in the Bitter Lakes; secondly, the identity of shells found at the sides and bottom of the lakes with those of the Red Sea; and, thirdly, the name "Bitter Lakes," implying the knowledge of a time when they were filled with salt-water. But neither the deposits of salt nor of shells, unless the shells were of modern species (which is not affirmed), would determine the question whether such a connection existed during the present geological condition of the earth. It is not doubted that during and before the tertiary period this connection existed; and, indeed, many hold that at some time anterior the Red Sea and Mediterranean were connected. The name "Bitter Lakes" is accounted for either by the salt marshes which existed there before the modern canal introduced the sea-water, or it may point back to an earlier time involved in the Arab tradition (mentioned by Robinson), that these marshes "were made by a canal cut thus far from the Red Sea, and then neglected."

But the decisive objection to the theory of a connection between the Red Sea and these lakes in modern geological times is found in the fact that the impassable bar of Chalooft is a tertiary formation. Such is the positive testimony of Fraas,⁵ and of M. Mauriac, the engineer of the Suez Canal Company, and the admission of M. Ritt. Not only

⁵ *Aus dem Orient*, p. 173. M. Mauriac's statement is in a personal letter to the author.

does it contain "chalk deposits," colored with red and brown iron oxide, and hardened into a rock which for limited distances gave great trouble to the engineers, but in the excavations were found fossil remains of the tertiary period, as, for example, the teeth of the ancient shark, *Carcharodon Megalodon*.⁶ M. Ritt's reply is that this ridge of Chaloof was raised by an earthquake, its rocky banks having mineralogical and antediluvian marks not found in the vicinity. General C. P. Stone, the Khédive's Chief of Staff, made to me the same suggestion. But, as I understand M. Mauriac, it is of the same geological character as Jebel Geneffé, of which it is a continuation or outlier. And when both belong to the same geological epoch, how can we assign a later date to the one? Earthquakes cannot be introduced without evidence, to help out a theory.

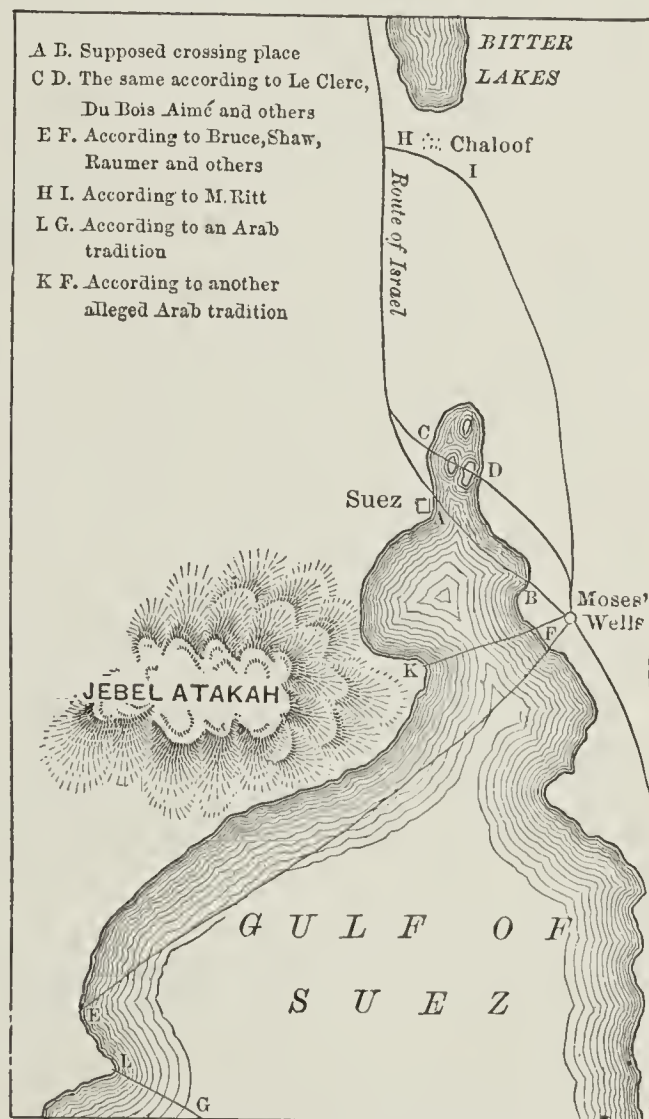
Secondly, there is apparently clear testimony that in early times the breadth of the isthmus was substantially the same as now. M. Ritt (and before him, Du Bois-Aimé) endeavors ineffectually to show that it was narrower. He cites the statement of Herodotus that "the shortest and quickest passage from Mount Casius to the Gulf of Arabia is exactly a thousand furlongs."⁷ This, says M. Ritt, is about one hundred, or exactly ninety or ninety-five kilometres, whereas the present breadth is one hundred and forty kilometres—that is, nearly fifty kilometres (thirty-one miles) less than it was two thousand years ago. But the figuring is incorrect. It assumes a furlong (stadium) of only three hundred feet. But Herodotus defines his own stadium⁸ as "six hundred feet," or "one hundred fathoms," "each fathom being six feet, or four cubits." He adds, in the same sentence, that a cubit measures six palms, and a

⁶ Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*, p. 171. The same information was given to me by M. Mauriac.

⁷ Herodotus, ii. 158.

⁸ *Ib.* ii. 149.

foot four. Reckoning the furlong, then, at six (not three) hundred Greek feet (about six hundred and six English feet), we find the journey from Mount Casius to the Red Sea to be not ninety-five, but one hundred and eighty-four kilometres. This is even more than the present distance. But the explanation is well given by Schleiden,⁹ that the distance mentioned is not an air-line, but, as the historian indicates, the "passage" or travelled distance; and as Mount Casius lies some thirty miles east of the shortest line, and as the road would cross Kantara, and pass west of the Bitter Lakes, the distance mentioned corresponds almost precisely to the present distance over the same track.¹⁰



MAP OF THE RED SEA CROSSING, SHOWING
VARIOUS THEORIES.

Thirdly, the remains of the ancient canal leading northward from the gulf toward the Bitter Lakes complete the

⁹ Die Landenge von Suez, p. 29.

¹⁰ Schleiden (Die Landenge von Suez, pp. 30, 31) cites another passage from Herodotus, giving the same measurement; also Strabo (xi. i. 5, 6), who gives the distance from Pelusium to the gulf (a shorter distance) as "not more than a thousand furlongs," and again (xvii. i. 21), more precisely, as "nine hundred stadia." Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Iter Antoninum all approximate to these figures, and show a breadth certainly no less than at present.

evidence. They show that in ancient times, as in modern, the connection was an artificial one. Burckhardt recognized the line of the canal long ago, and Rüppell travelled for an hour and a half along its bed, where it was, as he judged, one hundred feet broad. Herodotus distinctly describes the course of this canal in his day as leading eastward from Bubastis, near Patumos, and skirting the base of the hills, till it "turns southward and enters the Arabian Gulf."¹¹ He affirms that this southern connection was completed by Darius, and a stone bearing the name of that monarch, in Persian characters,¹² near the terminus of the canal, sustains his statement, and carries us back nearly five hundred years before the Christian era. Of course, the construction of the canal disproves the natural extension of the gulf to the Bitter Lakes at that time.

We may assume, till positive evidence is adduced to the contrary, that as in the time of Darius so in that of Moses, the Red Sea did not connect with the Bitter Lakes, but that the ridge of Chaloof, rising far above the highest known seas, and sending off a branch northerly and northwesterly to form the western bank of the Bitter Lakes, and to join the eastern slope of Jebel Geneffé, was then, as now, an impassable barrier. At the same time, the appearances about Suez, the constant drifting of the sands, and the present low level of the plain, would justify the belief that the gulf may have extended somewhat farther north than at present. Schleiden may be right in supposing that the whole distance, if we except the heights of Chaloof, was more marshy than now, and probably untravelled, if not impassable. He urges that from the time of Herodotus to the *Iter Antoninum* there is no indication of a road across

¹¹ Herodotus, ii. 158.

¹² Rawlinson's Herodotus, ii. 205, note.

the isthmus south of the Bitter Lakes; but there is in certain definite enumerations a noticeable omission of any such route, and that, particularly in the Pentinger tables, the southernmost route crosses north of these lakes. The average level of the plain of Suez is but about four feet above the mean level of the Red Sea, and fully two feet below the highest known seas. I have already mentioned, that after a high wind and storm I saw the water standing in low grounds, five or six miles north of Suez, along the line of the canal, and was informed on the spot that it had recently been six feet deep; and I was told by M. de Lesseps, that in extraordinary storms, once in fifteen or twenty years, it is driven far north.¹³ It is, therefore, not improbable that in earlier times the region between Chaloof and

¹³ I will cite the words of M. Antoine de Mauriac, of Suez, engineer of the Maritime Canal Company, from a personal letter: "Les vents prédominants sont ceux du nord et du nord-ouest; mais ceux du sud-est sont les plus terribles. Combinés avec l'effet des marées, ils peuvent amener à la cote (20.00) le niveau des plus hautes mers de syzygie, qui par les temps calmes n'arrivent qu'à 19.50 mètres. [The "repère du Quai de Suez" is 20.00.]

"La plaine de Suez est environ à 1.30 m. au dessus du niveau moyen de la Mer Rouge [18.36]. Il y a quelques points plus bas, comme il y en a d'autres plus élevés, mais ces derniers n'atteignent point la cote (20.00) des plus hautes mers connues.

"Le seuil de Chaloof, en courant vers l'est à travers la plaine de Suez, laisse au nord une queue qui contourne la rive occidentale des Laes Amers; puis il dirige sa tête vers le Geneffé pour former un contrefort à la montagne. Le seuil de Chaloof, qui se trouve environ à cinq mètres au dessus des plus hautes mers connues, ne conserve pas cependant cette altitude dans son parcours à travers le canal d'eau douce et le chemin de fer. Il y a là une certaine dépression relative, dépression qui est, toutefois, bien supérieure au niveau des plus hautes mers connues.

"Il suit de tout ceci que la séparation est complète entre les Laes Amers et la Mer Rouge, et que les eaux que vous avez pu remarquer, soit au [kilomètre] 152, soit au 153, sont des eaux provenant, soit de la Mer Rouge, soit des Laes Amers, par suite de la présence du Canal Maritime.

"Le terrain de Chaloof me paraît être de l'époque tertiaire. Il n'y a donc eu communication des laes avec la Mer Rouge que dans les temps préhistoriques."

the present head of the Red Sea may have been a marshy region, and that the lagoons north of Suez may have extended beyond their present limits. While the more impassable condition of the plain north of Suez, if admitted, might help to explain the "entanglement" of the Israelites, the fact that the sea clearly did not extend to the Bitter Lakes would cut off one or two theories of the Exodus; for example, that of M. Ritt, who supposes the crossing to have taken place at Chaloof, and that of M. de Lesseps, who places it still farther north, near Serapeum. For it was not a crossing of marshes or of land elevations, but of the sea.

We can now follow the Exodus. Since the Egyptian kings at this period spent a part of their time at Memphis and a part at Zoan, and since the latter was apparently in Goshen and the former was not, it is probable that the communications of Moses with Pharaoh took place at Zoan or Sân. The elders of the people at times were associated with him.¹⁴ The people would seem to have remained at their employments, chiefly agricultural and pastoral, over the land of Goshen. It is stated or implied six times in fifteen verses¹⁵ that they marched not alone from Rameses but from "Egypt," and the expression "hosts," twice used, permits, if not suggests, the supposition that they moved in many companies. We may imagine them as gathering at various convenient points to join the general movement. Incidental allusions also imply that in the subsequent march through the wilderness they may be conceived of, not as massed in one solid body, but spread widely out, as convenience might require.¹⁶ For Amalek "smote the hindmost part of them, even all that were feeble be-

¹⁴ Exod. iv. 29-31.

¹⁵ Exod. xii. 37-51. "Armies," v. 51, same word as "hosts," v. 41.

¹⁶ This is Ewald's view (*Geschichte*, ii. 279).

hind ;”¹⁷ and on one occasion the ark went three days’ journey in advance.¹⁸ In the record of marches and encampments we may properly understand that the movement of the head-quarters is specifically intended. The whole company may have spread, as an Arab encampment or a modern army often does, over an area of many miles. The first two verses of Exodus xvi. would not unnaturally be understood as implying that they proceeded in detachments, and were first assembled as a complete host when they came unto the Wilderness of Sin. In the march through Sinai it is not necessary to suppose that all followed exactly the same route. They are spoken of somewhat generally as in the mountains.¹⁹

At their departure, only the final movement, the actual start, was made in haste. All before was deliberately arranged. The leader was a man of training, experience, and, when tried by whatever standard, of singular capacity and energy. He had twice gone over the line of march. Before his return to Egypt, he had been told that he was to lead his nation to Mount Horeb,²⁰ and had had ample opportunity to inform himself concerning the route. His return to Egypt had been previously announced there, his mission made known to Aaron, and immediately after to the “elders”—and then to the people.²¹ Then followed protracted discussions with Pharaoh, and a series of miracles, occupying in the prediction and performance a considerable interval. The first of the ten plagues covered a week.²² All these transactions were a constant assurance of the coming departure, and a reminder to be ready. As the crisis drew near, a definite time was set, the fourteenth of the month, and was announced some time between the

¹⁷ Deut. xxv. 18.

¹⁸ Numb. x. 33.

¹⁹ Exod. xxxii. 12.

²⁰ Exod. iii. 12.

²¹ Exod. iv. 27–31.

²² Exod. vii. 25.

first and the tenth,²³ giving at least five days' immediate notice. Opportunity was afforded for the thorough organization which is disclosed upon the march, and which appears, indeed, in the early statement that they went up out of Egypt "harnessed;" that is, taking the Hebrew word at its lowest, in orderly array.²⁴ Timely word had long before been given to Moses²⁵ for the arrangement whereby the Israelites asked (not "borrowed") and received jewelry and garments,²⁶ the most portable property to take with them. This, we learn, was cheerfully given by the Egyptians, and was but a partial equivalent for the vast amount of improvements and unportable values which the Israelites left behind them.

The hour at length arrived. Crushed by the hand of God, Pharaoh rose in the night and yielded everything that had been asked. "Go, serve the Lord, as ye have said. Also, take all your flocks and herds, as ye have said, and be gone." One can almost hear the choking voice with which he adds, "And bless me also." The Egyptians were urgent upon the people, "and hurried them forth at midnight." To Rameses the hosts converged from all Goshen. It lay directly on their way eastward, not more than sixteen miles from the northern extremity of Lake Timsah.²⁷ Two days' march, probably short, bring them successively to Succoth and Etham. We need not look for any means of exactly identifying these two places, the first of which signifies "booths," or tents, and may designate no more than a camping-ground, and the second is vaguely described as "in the edge of the wilderness."²⁸

²³ Exod. xii. 3, 6.

²⁴ Exod. xiii. 18.

²⁵ Exod. iii. 21.

²⁶ Exod. xii. 35, 36.

²⁷ The shortest distance was two or three miles less.

²⁸ De Rougé (*Recherches*, p. 10) finds evidence of a district, Sechet or Soehot,

Two different views exist concerning the direction in which these places lay from Rameses. They hinge on the force of the word "turn" (Numb. xxxiii. 7; Exod. xiv. 2), as well, perhaps, as upon the time when the direction to turn was given. The narrative in Exodus and in Numbers implies that the change of direction took place on reaching Etham; and the previous statement (Exod. xiii. 17-19), that God led the people not by the land of the Philistines, though it was near, but by the wilderness of the Red Sea, may be understood as a general preliminary description of the route, referring to this very movement. It is difficult to understand the strong Hebrew word "turn" in the sense of merely a slight deviation. It commonly means to turn back, or certainly more than a simple deflection.²⁹ If, now (with Robinson, Keil, Knobel, and others), we find these places south-east of Rameses in the direct line toward the head of the Red Sea,³⁰ we vacate the word of its usual meaning. And, moreover, if the children of Israel at Etham were within a day's march of the sea when Pharaoh received intelligence that they were "shut in by the wilderness," and prepared to follow them, they would have had ample time to escape before he could overtake them.

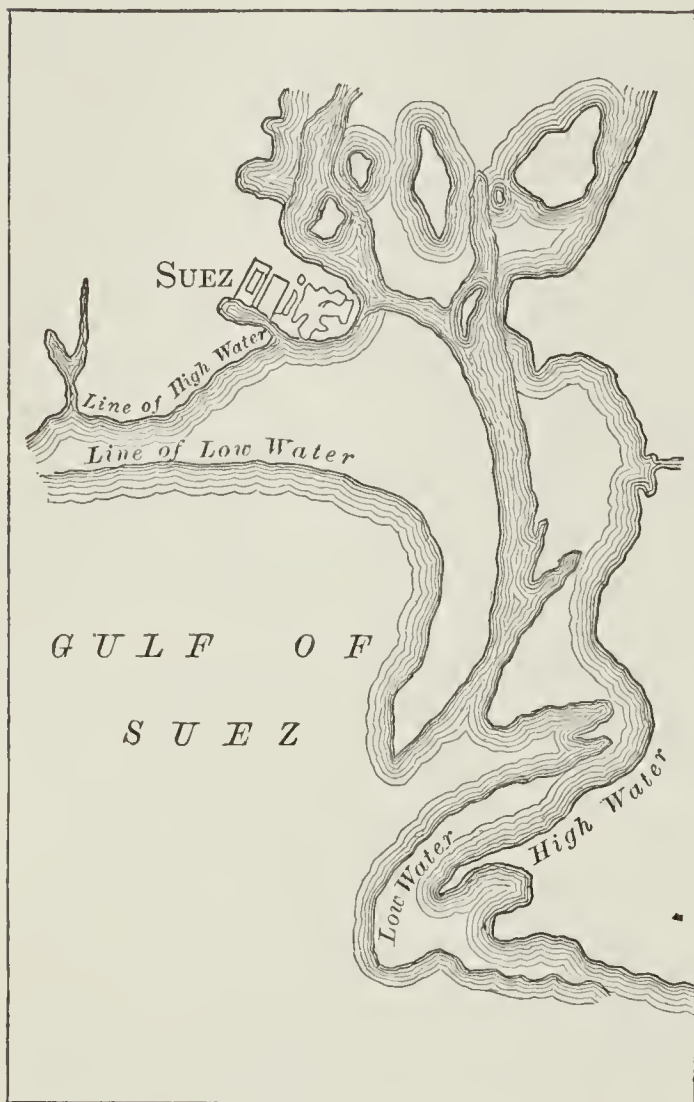
We best meet the requirements of the narrative if we

in Chufu's time, in Lower Egypt. Brugsch (*L'Exode et les Monuments*) finds a district, Suehut, or Suehot, or Thukut, with which he would sustain his peculiar theory of the Exodus. He would derive Etham from an Egyptian word, "fortress."

²⁹ It is too strong an assertion to say (with Lange) that "the word uniformly means to turn back, return." In Joshua xix. it is used four times for the turning of a boundary line (vs. 12, 27, 29, 34). But this is a marked change of direction. Ewald insists on the full meaning of the word in Exodus.

³⁰ Kurtz, Knobel, and others place Etham at Serapeum, north of the west end of the Bitter Lakes; Robinson, Keil, and others, a little south of those lakes, in the direction of the Red Sea.

suppose Etham to have been beyond the eastern end of Wady Tumilat, toward Palestine, and not far from the northern end of Lake Timsah. It would thus lie on "the



THE NORTHERN END OF THE GULF OF SUEZ—
FROM THE MAP OF THE MARITIME CANAL COM-
PANY.

edge of the desert;" that is, on the line where Egypt ends and the Arabian desert begins.³¹ It would be where the way was open before Israel, either to pass over the heights of Guisr, or to strike northward into the main road to the Philistine territory and to Palestine. The command at that place, to move in the direction of Suez, would indeed be an order to "turn back." The time required to reach the head of the sea after the change of direction, would be suffi-

cient to convey the intelligence to Pharaoh, and to enable his army to overtake them at that spot.³²

The instruction given to the Israelites was, "that they

³¹ Mr. Poole finds it at Bir-Seba, a little west of Lake Timsah; Lesseps, on the lake; Canon Cook, near its southern extremity; Ewald, apparently just north of it; Ebers, north-east of it, on the line of the Egyptian fortifications.

³² The author formerly accepted Dr. Robinson's view of the location of Etham, but has felt constrained to abandon it.

turn and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon; before it shall ye encamp by the sea." Pihahiroth is written in Numbers "Hahiroth," giving some support to the opinion that the syllable "pi" is only the Egyptian article, and that the essential word is Hahiroth. There seems, on the whole, to be good reason for finding Hahiroth at Ajrood. It is the view of Jablonsky, Laborde, Winer, Kurtz, Keil, Knobel, Ebers, Sharpe, and apparently of Lange and Ewald. The name Hahiroth, as they have shown, corresponds in its consonant elements very closely to Ajrood. This name is certainly as old as the twelfth century. Other reasons concur. The situation and circumstances well correspond. The distance from the sea, four hours north-west of Suez, is suitable. A large plain, adapted to an encampment, ten miles long and nearly as broad, stretches to the sea. This camping-ground lies in front, or, as the Hebrew might be translated, east of the place. A deep well (two hundred and fifty feet), though containing bitter water, must have made the spot a place of mark in former as in recent times. A fortress stands there now. These several circumstances will satisfy the conditions.

There is less to determine the sites of Migdol and Baal-Zephon, with much confidence. "Migdol" means fort or tower, and might designate simply a fortified place. Niebuhr first suggested for it Bir-Suweis, two miles from Suez, where there are two wells of very brackish water, and a massive stone building of the seventeenth century. Kalisch favors it; and Canon Cook, in view of an investigation by Chabas, showing that "Maktal," or Magdal, which Seti I. visited on his return from Syria, was built over a well, thinks there is "scarcely any room for doubt." We may accept it as a very suitable conjecture.

Baal-Zephon is placed by Josephus,³³ whatever may have been his means of information, on the Red Sea. If the general locality of the crossing be rightly determined in this discussion, then Jebel Atakah, south-west of Suez, is too prominent a feature of the landscape, and too important in its relations to the line of march, to be easily overlooked. It is questionable whether its name properly means, as has often been alleged, the "mountain of deliverance." But it is a reasonable conjecture of Ebers³⁴ and others, and one that seems to be growing in favor, that Baal-Zephon may have been Jebel Atakah.

The facts already stated may enable us, if not to determine the exact place of crossing the sea, yet to restrict it within certain limits. The modern theory of Schleiden, recently revived with much learning by Brugsch, that the Israelites did not cross the Red Sea, but the Serbonian bog, in the extreme north-east of Egypt, derives its chief importance from the eminence and ability of its latest advocate. It is directly in conflict with the narrative which it proposes to explain. The Scriptures say it was the Red Sea. Schleiden first alleged that this statement was in the Jehovistic, and not in the Elohistie, portion of Genesis, and might, therefore, be set aside. But if the importance of such a distinction be recognized, Exodus xiii. 18, in which the statement occurs, is Elohistie. The next argument was, that the name Red Sea ("sea of reeds," *yam suph*) designated, not this sea, but the shallow, reedy lakes in the north-east of Egypt. But this position cannot stand. The Septuagint version overthrows it. This version was completed in Egypt two hundred years before Christ, by a body of learned Jews at the centre

³³ Antiquities, ii. 151.

³⁴ Durch Gosen, p. 511.

of Egyptian learning, while the hieroglyphics were still in use, and while the Hebrew was essentially a living language. And this version everywhere gives the *yam suph*, in unmistakable Greek, as the Red Sea. It would seem idle to advance a modern theory in the face of such testimony. Besides this fundamental defect, there are subordinate difficulties. Mr. Birch significantly remarks, that "the difficulty of reconciling the Scriptural account of the time occupied in the transit, as well as that of allowing the philological connection of some of the Hebrew and Egyptian names, have caused this brilliant discovery not to be universally admitted by those who have studied the antiquities of Egypt or Biblical geography." It may be added that the theory required the identification of Rameses with Zoan, transferring it some forty miles north of the valley in which, in his previous works, Brugsch had most positively fixed it, from "the monuments" and by "the inscriptions."³⁵ The identification of these two cities, Rameses and Zoan, seems incompatible with the use of both names in the Scriptures, and in the same book (*e. g.*, Numbers), without a hint of their identity. It seems also in conflict with the statement³⁶ that "Hebrón was built seven years before Zoan of Egypt;" whereas Hebron existed before the time of Abraham, but the Rameses of Exodus (i. 11) was not built till near the time of the Exodus.³⁷ We therefore dismiss it.

³⁵ Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, third edition, p. 156. Aus dem Orient, part ii. p. 35.

³⁶ Numb. xiii. 22.

³⁷ The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, 1875, contains an able refutation of this theory by Dr. J. P. Thompson. He intimates that Lepsius and other German Egyptologists do not concur in the views of Brugsch. Dr. Thompson makes the additional objections that—(1) this theory locating Rameses at Zoan would require the Israelites first to march a long distance away from their destination to the place of rendezvous, to cross the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, and then to recross

The opinion of Von Raumer, Lengerke, and others (in accordance with the tradition of the Peninsular Arabs), that the crossing took place south of Jebel Atakah, seems also untenable. A fundamental objection is the impracticability of their getting there. The mountains shut down to the sea-shore, leaving room only for a narrow foot-path, and the chain of which it forms a part sweeps westward many miles, precluding the passage of such a host round it either way. "Ras Atakah," says Bonar, "maintains its full height for some twelve miles, and then drops down from Suez, leaving not a foot of land for a passage."³⁸ This statement is somewhat too strong. M. de Mauriac says that "it is possible to go on foot southward along the sea-coast by Jebel Atakah," and the canal company's map shows a route from Cairo to Suez following this very line. But that such a host should have made their way along this foot-path, and been followed by Pharaoh's chariots, may be fairly considered out of the question. There has been a theory advanced by some few that they marched east from Heliopolis, and leaving the pilgrim route, passed through wadies Ramliyah and Tawarik and struck the sea south of Jebel Atakah. But, among other

it next day, a process sufficiently improbable; (2) that the supposed route would take them on the most direct way toward the Philistines, contrary to the express statement of Exodus xiii. 17; (3) that the leading of an army into the treacherous Serbonian bog (where Artaxerxes lost a great part of his army), when there was a military road and great thoroughfare south of it, is a strategical blunder not supposable in Moses, much less in Egyptian generals who were accustomed to the whole region, having frequently led their armies to the east.

Rev. William Turner (*Studies, Biblical and Oriental*, Edinburgh, 1876) objects still further, that the safe passage over a tract of land which was liable to be swept by the tide does not at all meet the representations of the Scriptural narrative. He dwells also on the inadequate explanation of the "turning." Both Mr. Turner and Dr. Thompson insist on the collision between this theory and the unmistakable Scripture designation of the Red Sea. This last objection is so decisive, and the testimony of the seventy so overwhelming to show that the Sea of Reeds is certainly the Red Sea, that we may rest upon it as sufficient of itself.

³⁸ *The Desert of Sinai*, p. 79.

objections, this assigns a wrong starting-point, and an utterly improbable, if not impossible, line of march for such a host; and not only takes them, in the outset, wholly away from Goshen, but places Etham, not on the edge, but in the middle, of the wilderness. It also places the passage where the sea is fifteen miles broad, and where such a host could hardly have crossed after "the night" had set in, and by "the morning watch."³⁹

The question concerning the number of the Israelites has occasioned no little discussion. Reckoning from the basis of "six hundred thousand on foot that were men, besides children" (Exod. xii. 37), it has commonly been given at two or two and a half millions. Dean Milman sets it as high as from two and a half to three millions,⁴⁰ but suggests in a note⁴¹ that there may be an error of the text. This last opinion has been not unfrequently advanced. But such writers as Ewald and Bunsen, who treat the text with the utmost freedom, set the supposition summarily aside, and pronounce this number "historical."⁴² Indeed, the correspondence of the details, given in various places, furnishes a series of counter-checks, and renders it impracticable to escape the difficulty by supposing an error of the text. It is a complete whole, mutually self-confirmatory. Yet Ebers⁴³ declares the number to be "mythical;" affirms that "the desert never could have supported six hundred thousand; they never could have gained their whole subsistence from the products of the peninsula." These arbitrary denials of

³⁹ Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, ii. 378.

⁴⁰ *History of the Jews*, book ii.

⁴¹ *Ib.* book iv.

⁴² Ewald says (*Geschichte*, ii. 278, second edition): "We see already that all these numbers must be taken from ancient tables of taxation." Bunsen says (*Egypt's Place*, v. 73) that "the number, two millions and a half, results from contemporary records, and is strictly historical."

⁴³ *Dureh Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 533.

the numbers must go for what they are worth, especially as the narration informs us most distinctly and constantly that the people did *not* "gain their whole subsistence from the products of the peninsula." More deserving of consideration are some explanations which admit the correctness of the figures, and endeavor to show that they do not necessitate so large a total as the common estimate. Thus, Dr. A. Benisch⁴⁴ would reduce the total to sixteen or eighteen hundred thousand, on the ground that "men on foot" comprised many more than simply those fit for military duty. And W. B. Galloway⁴⁵ would bring down the sum total to three-quarters of a million. His argument is, that the number given in the text is not besides women, but only "besides the children;" and he endeavors to maintain that the Hebrew word rendered "men" (אֲנָשִׁים), though often used for males, is not exclusive of the other sex, but means persons.⁴⁶ He supposes that the women must have gone "on foot" of course. He also reasons that, on account of Pharaoh's murderous policy, "it is sufficient to reckon those under twenty as one-fourth or one-fifth of the whole number." But the difficulty is to show that the Hebrew term, though sometimes used like our word "man" where some general proposition is true of any human being, is ever employed in an enumeration of persons, to include women. It may also be added, that even the smallest number thus attained could hardly have made their way through the wilderness without some such extraordinary provision as the Scriptures affirm. One million is as really unmanageable as two. And this latter number, in the absence of better light, may be considered as an approximation to the facts. Dr. Robinson⁴⁷ has esti-

⁴⁴ The Exodus of Israel, p. 203.

⁴⁵ Egypt's Record of Time, p. 520.

⁴⁶ He refers to Josh. vii. 14, 17, 18; Prov. xx. 24; Job xiv. 10, etc.

⁴⁷ Researches, i. 85.

mated that such a number, marching one thousand abreast, would form a column half a mile in width and two miles in length; and, moving at the slow rate of two miles an hour, would require a whole hour to enter the sea, and two hours more to pass through its bed, if it were four miles wide.

Returning now to the question of the locality of the Red Sea passage, and leaving out of the account, as incompatible with the narration, the passage along the Serbonian bog instead, and as impracticable the theory which supposes the crossing to have been south of Jebel Atakah, we still meet some diversity of opinion. Thus, M. de Lesseps, whose opinion certainly deserves respectful mention because of the thought he has given to the subject, his knowledge of the region, and his high intelligence, finds the place of crossing between the Crocodile and the Bitter Lakes, near Serapeum.⁴⁸ M. Ritt, following certain travellers (Aymé and Stickel), finds it along the dike at Chaloof, at low water, the Egyptians being overtaken by the rising sea and swept into the "Gulf of Heroopolis." Both these theories would avail themselves of certain supposed natural crossings, and perhaps dispense with any supernatural elements in the transaction. They necessitate the supposition of continuous extension of the Red Sea beyond those points respectively, which, as we have seen, there is no reason to believe ever took place in historic times as far as Serapeum, and no valid reason to suppose existed at that time as far as Chaloof.

Accordingly, the larger number of judicious writers have fixed upon the neighborhood of Suez as the point where the sea was crossed.⁴⁹ There are, or were before the dredging

⁴⁸ Stated by him in conversation, and indicated by him in pencil on a small railway map. See note, p. 149.

⁴⁹ Among these may be mentioned Niebuhr, Laborde, Wellsted, Robinson, Hengstenberg, Tischendorf, Ewald, Kurtz, Keil, and many others.

for the Suez Canal, two places in the gulf that could be forded at low water. One was some distance north of Suez, where the water in the narrowest place is, or was (for the canal has made considerable changes), two-thirds of a mile wide, and two sandy islands form a part of the way. Here Niebuhr's guides crossed on foot, and the water came scarcely up to their knees.⁵⁰ But the passage, according to Robinson,⁵¹ was considered dangerous except at quite low water, and was never crossed by caravans. Ebers saw Arabs passing there at ebb-tide.⁵² It was here that Bonaparte and his suite, in 1799, were exposed to imminent danger from the returning tide. Russegger describes his own passage in 1838. He first rode due north an hour from his camp, then occupied an hour in crossing the arm of the sea, the water in some places (at low tide) coming above the knee-joints of the camels.⁵³ Tischendorf, in 1846, sent his Arabs across by the northern ford, while he went by boat to Ayún Músa, and they nowhere found the water up to the camel's thighs, and a track in the middle was wholly dry.⁵⁴ On a subsequent journey (in 1869), he wished to make the passage himself at low tide, but an exceptional south wind rendered it less safe, and he did not venture. His camels went by the ford, but, missing the best track, three only walked over, and the rest were with much difficulty gotten across by swimming.⁵⁵ The other ford is south of Suez. Extensive shoals run south-easterly, extending far out into the sea, and near the southern edge a long narrow sand-bank reaches out toward them from the eastern shore. At low tide the whole is, or was, laid bare, leaving only a narrow winding channel like a river between. The Arabs

⁵⁰ Reisebeschr. i. 252.

⁵¹ Researches, i. 85.

⁵² Durch Gosen, p. 531.

⁵³ Reisen, iii. 25.

⁵⁴ Tischendorf, Reise im Orient, i. 109.

⁵⁵ Tischendorf, Aus dem Heilige Lande, p. 21.

sometimes waded this channel, the water coming up to the chin.⁵⁶

M. de Mauriac states the case similarly, but more precisely. The passage commences opposite Suez, and extends nearly south-east. At high tide it is covered for a mile and a half (*i. e.*, on the western side of the channel), and is impassable. But at low tide the surface of the water is reduced to a channel two hundred metres broad, which, over against Suez being only .80 to 1.70 metres in depth, is easily forded, while in other places it is more than two metres (six and a half feet) deep. The Arabs still cross here on their donkeys at low tide, but since the opening of the canal they are obliged to cross the channel of the canal by means of Arab boats or barks.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Robinson's Researches, i. 70-72.

⁵⁷ I will cite the words of M. de Mauriac on the whole subject, from a written communication to the author: "Les deux gués du golfe de Suez existent encore, l'un au nord de Suez, l'autre au sud. Ils ont été coupés dans leur parcours par le passage du canal maritime. Le gué nord est desservi par un bac mobile, qui est à la charge de la compagnie, et le gué sud par des barques Arabes, qui prennent probablement une droit de passage. Le passage nord est la route ordinaire de la grande caravane se rendant à la Mecque. Cette route était ordinairement praticable; elle l'est toujours maintenant, depuis l'ouverture du canal qui a modifié l'état ancien des lieux. Elle est située au nord de Suez à quatre milles environ. L'autre passage plus court [direct?] et placé vis-à-vis de Suez, prend à peu près la direction de sud-est. Dans cette direction, il est recouvert à marée haute sur une longueur d'une mille et demi, et n'est point praticable. À marée basse, la surface de l'eau est réduite à un petit chenal de 200 mètres de largeur, qui, ne présentant *devant* Suez que 0.80 à 1.70 m. de profondeur, se trouve *parfaitement* guéable, tandis que dans d'autres endroits les fonds sont supérieur à 2 mètres de profondeur. Comme nous venons de le voir, il était possible de passer le gué à marée basse, pour aller en aue vers la Fontaine de Moïse, puisque les Arabes le font maintenant. Seulement depuis l'ouverture du canal, ils sont obligés de traverser le canal maritime au moyen de barques Arabes."

The distance here given of the northern ford from Suez at "about four miles," is given by Russegger at "an hour." M. de Mauriac, in speaking of the southern shoals as covered for a mile and a half, must refer to the western side; for the enlarged map or plan of the company, carefully prepared, shows the whole distance across to be two miles and seven-tenths; and in another letter

Of these two shallow places, Russegger naturally suggests the northern one, by which he crossed. He adds, that if the heedless and excited Pharaoh chose for his passage, in chase of the Hebrews, a place but little nearer the town, and was overtaken by an ordinary high tide, the destruction of his hosts could be explained wholly on natural principles, without resorting to any special hypothesis. Ebers seems to favor the suggestion. But the narrative asserts a special transaction—at the least, an extraordinary use of natural forces. And although we should assume a subsequent contraction of the sea-arm at that place, there is nothing to warrant the supposition that it was then broad enough to engulf the whole Egyptian hosts.

For this reason, Robinson apparently favors the passage south of Suez, where the sea is wider, and where, supposing the Israelites to follow the shoals south-easterly, the distance at high-water would be now nearly three miles, and probably more at that time, allowing ample space for all the conditions of the miracle.⁵⁸ Laborde had already advanced

M. de Mauriae says, that in high seas the waters "extend seven miles north of Suez, and are about three miles broad opposite to the town."

⁵⁸ *Researches*, i. 85. Dr. Robinson carefully notes all the details of the Scripture narrative. In obedience to the declaration of God and the signal of Moses, the sea was made dry by the blowing of a wind "all night." The Egyptians were troubled "in the morning watch;" and when morning appeared "the sea returned to his strength," and "covered all the host of Pharaoh." As this blowing of the wind would require some time for its full effect, he assumes that the Israelites could not have entered the passage much before midnight, while apparently their march was completed by the morning watch, or two o'clock. They must have marched slowly, by reason of their incumbrances. If the column moved one thousand abreast, it would occupy a space more than half a mile wide, and, being two thousand in depth, would extend not less than two miles from front to rear. It would require an hour fully to enter the sea, and two hours more to traverse a space of four miles across. Allowing some little delay before the Egyptians followed, he concludes that the whole body of Israelites could "have passed, at the most, over a space of three or four miles," before the returning waters "troubled" the Egyptians. If the space

substantially the same view, making the line of march almost due south-east, or in the precise direction of Ayún Músa. He mentions⁵⁹ that he went to bathe in the sea south-east of Suez at low tide, and that he proceeded for a long distance over the flat without finding more than two feet of water. Here he was met by some Arabs, who had crossed from the direction of the Wells of Moses, who informed him, however, that it was too late for him to proceed, as the tide was rising. Ebers objects⁶⁰ that the sea-charts show most decisively that at no time of day can one go from Suez toward Ayún Músa without swimming half the way. But this statement is shown, by the testimony of M. de Mauriac, to be a mistake. Without contending unreasonably for exactness of determination, we may well accept the southern passage at Suez as best answering all the conditions of the case, and may probably recognize the "Wells of Moses" as a traditional reminiscence of the first camping-ground after the passage.

The process, definitely stated in the Scripture narrative, by which the sea was divided and reunited, would find here the corresponding fulfilment: "The Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided." This clearly asserts that the effect was wrought by a natural agency, though preternaturally applied. It has been affirmed by Hengstenberg⁶¹ and some others, that the Hebrew word קָרִיִם cannot mean any other than a strictly east wind. But

assigned be thought restricted, the method of reasoning appears to be sound, and would preclude a crossing south of Jebel Atakah, where the sea is twelve miles wide, provided it could be shown how they could reach that starting-point.

⁵⁹ *Commentaire Geographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres*, p. 80.

⁶⁰ *Durch Gosen*, p. 530.

⁶¹ *History of the Kingdom of God*, i. 292.

it has been well replied that, since the Hebrews had special names for only the four quarters of the compass, this term may properly be understood of a north-east wind.⁶² Now, the rise and fall of the tide here is very considerable. The French measurements of Napoleon's time made it from five and a half to six feet, and Robinson was told seven.⁶³ The additional effect of the wind is attested by many witnesses. Tischendorf mentions how the ebb is increased by a north-east wind.⁶⁴ Wellsted says that the rise and fall of the water in the Arabian Gulf is nowhere so dependent upon the wind as at Suez;⁶⁵ that when a long-continued north-east wind is followed by a south-east wind, the water suddenly rises more than six feet, and the northern ford, which previously could be crossed on foot, becomes impassable even for camels. Schubert mentions that the water north of Suez is driven so much to the south by a strong north-west wind, that the gulf can then be ridden through.⁶⁶ M. de Lesseps mentioned to me the extraordinary effects of this kind which he had witnessed in such storms as occur only at intervals of fifteen or twenty years. He had seen the northern end of the sea in places blown almost dry, and again had seen the waters driven far over the land toward the Bitter Lakes. But the most decisive testimony is found on the elaborate map of the Maritime Canal Company, which, while giving the ordinary difference between high and low tide in a calm at only eight-tenths of a metre, also states the difference between the highest and the lowest known seas at 3.24 metres, or ten feet and seven inches—

⁶² Keil on the Pentateuch, ii. 46. So also, substantially, Robinson, Ebers, Kalisch, Gesenius. "The Arabs," says Robinson, "apply the term even to the southerly wind of the desert." Fürst says, still more broadly, "stormy wind generally."

⁶³ *Researches*, i. 72.

⁶⁴ *Reise*, i. 183.

⁶⁵ *Travels in Arabia*, ii. 41, 42.

⁶⁶ *Reise im Orient*.

an amount that more than meets all the exigencies of the Biblical narrative, and forms a remarkable coincidence with it in regard to the effect of powerful winds on this arm of the sea.

Suppose, now, this strong north-east wind of extraordinary power blowing the waters all night, it would make "the sea dry land" along the shallower region or line of the ford, leaving the waters still standing in the deeper places north and south of the shoals; and so "the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left." That the wind afterward changed to a different quarter for the destruction of the Egyptians, though not asserted, is obviously involved in the method pursued, and is perhaps implied distinctly in the statement, that in the morning the Israelites "saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore"—that is, naturally, on the *eastern* shore, on which they themselves were, whither they would not have been driven by an east wind. The progressive nature of the catastrophe as the waters returned is indicated in the statement that the Egyptians drove their chariots heavily, and attempted to flee, before they were overtaken by the final destruction.⁶⁷

Some have objected to the recognition of natural agencies in the translation, as irreverent. But the irreverence would seem to lie in the refusal to accept the plain statements of the narrative, which expressly declares that the result was brought about by the use of a natural agency—

⁶⁷ The Hebrew translated "took off their chariot wheels" has been variously understood. It is a word of wide application. Kalisch renders, "made them glide out;" so that "they could not move on the slippery bottom of the sea;" Keil, "made them give way;" Knobel, "made them give way, or come off their axles;" Lange, "turned them aside;" Maurer, "fuit ut ab orbita aberraret rota curruum." The result is not affected by the exact rendering.

“a strong east wind.” It is also in keeping with others of the miracles in Egypt (*e. g.*, that of the locusts), which are explicitly ascribed by the sacred writer to the use of natural means extraordinarily directed. It is also further objected that the waters stood up to the right and left of the Israelites, and that the explanation is out of analogy with the passage through the Jordan.⁶⁸ But the narrative (in both verses 22, 29) only says that “the waters were a wall to them,” not necessarily the form of a wall, but a *wall to them*, that is, their protection or defence. Pharaoh could not attack them on either flank, but (verse 23) must follow on their track. The phraseology and the circumstances are quite different from those in the crossing of the Jordan, where no natural agency is introduced, and where “the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon a heap.”

Wellsted judiciously remarks thus, on the whole aspect of the case: “When I look away from all hypotheses, and confine myself to the Holy Scriptures, I must decide that the passage took place in the neighborhood of Suez. The objection that the water was not sufficient to drown the whole host of Pharaoh has no weight. It is now certainly enough, and must formerly have been more than enough, whereof there exist most striking evidences. It is expressly related in the Bible that a strong wind co-operated with the miracle. At Suez the water recedes when the north-east wind has blown for some time; and if a south-east wind follows it, then the water suddenly rises more than six feet, and causes the ford itself, one and a half English miles north of the town, to become impassable. Fatal accidents not seldom take place. We have only to think of Bonaparte, who on the passage had nearly perished. In other

⁶⁸ These are the objections of Hengstenberg, *Kingdom of God*, i. 292.

parts of the Red Sea, the rise and fall of the water is dependent on the winds, but nowhere so greatly as here at the end of it. If we suppose the passage of the Israelites at Suez, the determination of the next stations has no difficulty; since, on the modern journey from Suez to Sinai, they easily come round of themselves. The Desert of Shur, wherein they spent three days, is the desert stretching between Suez and Hawwarah, upon which to-day no drinking-water is found. The whole distance between these two points amounts to fifteen hours; and if they marched five hours on each of the three days, travelling with their baggage and effects, that would be as much as we could expect. Hawwarah, with its bitter waters, must be Marah, since, so far as I could find, there are no other bitter fountains in the region. Gharandel, where there are water and palms, becomes the Biblical Elim." And fixing the encampment by the sea near Ras Selima, he adds, "From Ras Selima to Mount Sinai are expressly made five more stations. I used twenty-five hours; which gives for the Israelites, again, five days' marches of five hours each."⁶⁹

In connection with this event, the prominence of the chariots in Pharaoh's army deserves notice. Prior to the eighteenth dynasty, and of course in the times of Abraham and Jacob, the monuments make no mention of the horse.⁷⁰ But in the reign of Thothmes III. horses and chariots had become a regular tribute from the conquered nations.⁷¹ Rameses II. is both described and delineated as fighting in his chariot. Even Homer has not failed to recognize this then prominent feature of Egyptian warfare:⁷²

⁶⁹ Travels in Arabia, ii. 41.

⁷⁰ Birch's History of Egypt, p. 85.

⁷¹ *Ib.* pp. 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 103, 116.

⁷² Mr. Gladstone (*Contemporary Review*, July and August, 1874) would assign the siege of Troy to a period nearly contemporaneous with the Exodus.

“Thebes, the pride
Of Egypt, where large treasures are laid up,
And through whose hundred gates rush men and steeds,
Two hundred through each gate.”⁷³

Curiously enough, an inscription has been found which gives the name of a high official residing about this time at Tanis, who was the king's master of horse.⁷⁴ A still more noteworthy coincidence comes to light, from the close translation of Exodus xiv. 7: “The chariots of Egypt, and captains over every one of them,” which, according to some scholars, should be rendered “*three* [שָׁלֹשׁ] upon every one of them.”⁷⁵ Now, in the Egyptian poem of the Pentaur, narrating the exploits of Rameses, the father of Menephtha, the writer describes him as “encircled by twenty-five hundred chariots obstructing his way, and all the vile men of Khita and their numerous lands; there were three men on a chariot.”⁷⁶ Wilkinson gives one cut that shows a chariot containing three persons, although he mentions it as uncommon.⁷⁷ Sharpe gives another.

The freshness of color in the whole narrative of the Exodus appears even in the grim wit with which the people asked, “Because there were no graves in Egypt” [that land of tombs and catacombs and mummies] “hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?”

⁷³ Iliad, ix. 383.

⁷⁴ Ebers, Egypten, etc., pp. 209, 220.

⁷⁵ Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Knobel, and others. But Fürst and others object, some on the erroneous supposition that this was never the custom.

⁷⁶ Birch's Egypt, p. 127. Mariette Bey's Aperçu, p. 64.

⁷⁷ Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, i. 368, 370. Sharpe's History of Egypt, i. 57.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WELLS OF MOSES, MARAH, AND ELIM.

A DAY or two were spent at Suez, in waiting for the movements of our dragoman, and for the coming of his confidential servant from Beyroot. On Friday, February 6, all seemed in readiness. It was arranged, however, that we should remain while the camels went round north by the head of the gulf, should spend the night in Suez, cross in a boat early in the morning, and join our caravan on the way to Ayún Músa. The dragoman deposited with me for safe-keeping some pounds of backsheesh money, tied up in a blue cloth. A violent rain of two hours' duration took place during the evening. Next morning the air was cool and the wind was strong, but the sky was clear. Six o'clock was the hour for departure. But the Oriental procrastination, which we had already begun to experience, and were destined to experience to the full, made it seven o'clock before we entered the boat that lay close beside our hotel. A stiff breeze landed us in a few minutes on the soil of Asia. But no camels or Arabs were waiting for us. Determined not to be delayed any longer, we started on foot, and our valises were taken along upon a camel hired upon the spot.

After a walk of nearly two hours, we met our new acquaintances coming composedly to meet us, a little north of Ayún Músa. The way thus far was over a hard, compacted sand, sprinkled with gravel. Along a part of the way small

boulder stones were scattered on the surface. Numerous hillocks, with flat tops, were in sight, looking as though the sand had simply blown away all round underneath, leaving the harder strata above unbroken, and level as a table. These continued to be seen on succeeding days along the way. Parallel to the shore, at the distance of some ten or twelve miles east, rose the mountain range of Er Ráhah, toward a thousand feet in height. It is the abrupt ascent to the great desert plain lying east and north, its monotony broken only by the peak Jebel Bisher (Taset Sudr). For nearly three days' march it shut us in upon the coast. From the conspicuous and wall-like aspect of this mountain range, Palmer has suggested that the desert lying between it and the sea is the Desert of Shur. Shur in the Hebrew is "wall." The wind was cold and piercing throughout the day, and when we were mounted it required all our wrappings to keep us comfortably warm. In the afternoon we saw several Arabs shielding themselves from its sharpness by crouching behind the thick shelter of some retem bushes, undoubtedly the "juniper," under which Elijah sat down in the desert, and afterward lay down and slept (1 Kings xix. 4, 5). It was here a low shrub; but we afterward found it ten or twelve feet high. In this region, and at the present time, the buds were still shut, or slightly opening. Two or three weeks later, and in warmer regions, we found it in full bloom, perfectly covered with delicate white and pink blossoms, and exceedingly beautiful. Neither here, nor in any subsequent part of our journey, did we find "the path marked out by skeletons of camels which lie bleaching in the sun,"¹ but it was commonly indicated very clearly by parallel lines of camel-tracks, occasionally

¹ Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 33.

numbering as many as a dozen, making continuous channels, sometimes scarcely sunk below the surface, sometimes deeper.

A delay of two hours at Ayún Músa, while the camels were having their loads adjusted, gave us opportunity to take an early lunch, and to look round this singular place. It is an oasis reclaimed from the hopeless sand by a supply of unpalatable water, which is arrested and brought to the surface by the labor of infinitesimal insects. The place has been changed so much from time to time by cultivation, that no two travellers have given precisely the same picture. Its importance as a source of water-supply to Suez has ceased, since the canal has brought a far better element to this city from the Nile. But as Suez has increased in size, the spot has received more attention as a place of gardening and vegetable supply for the neighboring city.

The only springs which are still left in their natural state are at the extreme south of the locality, outside of all the enclosures. Here rises a hillock some sixteen or seventeen feet above the level of the surrounding plain, containing a basin twelve to fifteen feet in diameter, and surrounded by a rocky rim. There was a break in the side, and grass growing in the middle of the basin, but not much water now apparent. Fraas found a pool about nineteen inches deep and four and a half feet in diameter, with the water flowing out, but absorbed in the sand before it reached the head of the plain. In the immediate neighborhood, and on a lower level at the foot of a solitary palm, a little excavation disclosed some water. This hillock our dragoman seemed to emphasize as the original Ayún Músa. But the principal flow of water is now found (or diverted) elsewhere; for at a short distance to the north is a series of five large gardens or plantations, enclosed by high reed

fences, and partly filled with palms, tamarisks, apricots, pomegranates, and other trees, and occupied chiefly by beds of vegetables and herbs, irrigated by the water from these wells. Some of these enclosures contain small summer-houses, and are places of resort from Suez. In this place Robinson found, in 1837, about twenty stunted palm-bushes, a patch of barley a few rods square, and a few cabbage-plants. Russegger, in 1838, found two poor Arab huts, some small garden-beds, and a few vegetables. Laval, in 1850, found three gardens. The change has been steady and great.

In the southernmost of these plantations we sat down in an open summer-house to take our lunch. Here was a large pool a hundred and sixty-five feet in circumference, as I paced it, kept full by a spring which bubbles up vigorously near the centre and flows off at the side in a rapid stream, three inches wide and half an inch deep. We all tasted it, but found it brackish and disagreeable. We had no desire to drink it. The next garden had a stoned well just outside. Beyond it was a well excavated in the sand near a palm-tree, and still beyond another well, about twelve feet in diameter, laid with stones. Then followed a third enclosure, containing a well of square mason-work, and also an excavation in the sand. The fourth contained two stoned wells. The fifth contained three wells, all built up, one of them about eighteen, another about twenty, feet in diameter. One of them, which was quite deep, was provided with a wheel to raise the water. These plantations extend a considerable distance, perhaps half a mile, from north to south. They admirably illustrate what irrigation and cultivation will do in the most forbidding regions of this desert. The entire amount of water to be had here, such as it is, would be sufficient for a large body of people. The appearance is

that water can be reached almost anywhere in the immediate vicinity by digging. A very singular aspect of the case is the ascent of the water to the top of the hillock, which is several feet above the surrounding plain. This is due to the work of infusoria. The stone basin at the highest point (and similar ones, probably, around others of these wells) is formed of an infinite number of the chalk-shells of these little creatures, *Cyprides*. Fraas found them alive in great numbers, and an analysis by Eulenstein detected the remains of no less than seven different species of fresh-water animalcules. The explanation of the case by Fraas is, no doubt, correct.² The water flows down toward the sea from the high range of Er Rahah, eight or ten miles distant, through the gently-sloping strata beneath the soil, and would continue to pass on without coming to the surface. But the sand, gradually cemented by the chalk-shells of millions of these animalcules, becomes impervious, and the water finally is brought to the surface through the new channels thus formed for it, being driven up by the hydraulic pressure along the strata.

The traditional name, "Moses's Wells," carries with it intrinsic probability. So important a watering-place could hardly have failed to be a camping-ground for the great host after their deliverance. The probability is greatly increased by the fact that not more than four miles to the north lies the fountain of Naba, or El Ghurkudeh, furnishing drinking-water, which was formerly used at Suez. That fountain, though but an excavation in the plain at the foot of a range of sand-hillocks, a basin eight or ten feet in diameter by six or eight feet deep, contains water, also brackish, which boils up rapidly enough to supply two hundred

² Aus dem Orient, pp. 181-184.

camel-loads at once.³ A situation so important, with fountains at a suitable distance to supply the van and the rear of the immense host, could hardly have failed to be a place of encampment, even though the place of crossing had not been in the immediate neighborhood, and much more if it was. Here one might feel confident that he was on the line of march, and probably on a camping-ground of the Israelites.

Six hours' ride from Ayún Músa brought us to Wady Sudr. Our journey continued over the same hard arid plain, sprinkled with gravel, and presenting an occasional zone of boulders. Now and then sharp flints strewn along the surface (and in other parts of the way subsequently) had suggested to Ebers the "sharp stone" with which, somewhere along this same route, Zipporah (Exod. iv. 25) performed the rite of circumcision on her son. A few tufts of herbage were to be seen from time to time in spots. Indeed, whenever we came, both to-day and afterward, to the slightest depression of the surface along which the winter rains had run (which is the simplest form of wady), it was invariably marked with tufts of vegetation, often quite abundant. The only living creatures we encountered on the way were three Arabs, five ravens, one sparrow-like bird, and one little animal with a head and body like a whitish mouse and a long tufted tail, that hopped along the ground almost like a diminutive kangaroo. The Arabs gave chase, and caught it as it rushed to a retem bush for shelter. It was a species of jerboa, that evidently had mistaken the temperature and come forth prematurely from his winter retreat. The wind continued bitterly rough and cold. We arrived at our camping-ground chilled and hungry, but not excessively tired. We found that the fatigue of camel-rid-

³ Robinson's Researches, i. 89.

ing had been somewhat magnified by travellers. For a little time before lunch, as I had ridden with the legs dangling and no support for the feet, I began to feel the disagreeableness of the motion, and to anticipate a good deal of severe fatigue. But after lunch, when we remounted, the dragoman had attached stirrups of cord to the horn of the saddle, a very simple but very comfortable device. The first ride of six hours that afternoon was easily accomplished, and in repeated instances afterward we were in the saddle nine, ten, and eleven hours, without special fatigue, or any of the uneasiness and distress in the spinal column of which travellers have sometimes complained.⁴ The trot of the camel is distressing enough; but the ordinary pace, a slow swinging walk, was almost as easy as the walk of a horse. On a smooth level track the speed scarcely varied from two miles and three-quarters per hour. By constant pushing, we could bring it up to three miles, while the loaded camels, especially where the track was rough or uneven, varied little from two and a half miles an hour. This rate they would maintain, if need be, uninterruptedly from morning to night. It became our custom—at least, till after we reached Nukhl—to ride forward while the beasts of burden were loading and nearly loaded, to rest for lunch an hour or more at noon, and then overtake the caravan just as our tents were pitched at night.

We learned to appreciate the camel. His real patience contrasts strongly with his harmless but disagreeable growling while being loaded or otherwise disturbed, and his wonderful qualities are in strong contrast to his weird and ugly exterior. He plods on steadily from morning till night. He eats the most unpromising herbs and shrubs, some of

⁴ *E. g.*, *Forty Days in the Desert*, p. 6, by W. H. Bartlett.

them greedily. He goes for days—in one part of our journey five days—without drink. Ebers's experienced dragoman said that "the camels were weak from having had no water for four days, and would give out after the seventh or eighth day if no water were found."⁵ Our dragoman said they could go twelve days. He is perfectly sure-footed; I never saw one stumble but once, and then something gave way beneath him. When he walks over the sand, his foot does not sink so deep as a man's. Sharp stones do not cut, nor even acacia thorns penetrate, his caoutchouc foot, unless when the thorns get between the toes or two principal divisions, and then he soon paws them out. The only places where he cannot go are wet places, for there his foot slips like india-rubber. He has an extra joint in his hind leg, and folds up like a jack-knife to lie down and receive his rider or his burden, and his hump aids in making the load or the saddle secure. He rises or lies down with a sudden seesaw motion, which might, and sometimes does, pitch off the unwary and inexperienced. But none of our party were ever thus dismounted; and after a few days the rider acquires an instinctive power of adjustment, so as to sustain no inconvenience. The only awkward experience we had was from a roguish trick of rising quickly just as the rider was in the act of throwing the leg over the saddle, and thus making him perform a rotary motion, whereby, in one instance at least, I found myself lying on my back under the camel's belly. Occasionally he would take the signal for lying down given to another camel, or would imitate the other's example with a suddenness that called for the quickest of preparations against an instant overthrow. Stupid as he looks, he has his likings, and there

⁵ Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 109.

springs up between a camel and his owner a very noticeable friendship. One of our Arabs, Hassan, a fine-looking, cheery young fellow, was continually searching out nice morsels for his camel as we went along, and the camel would follow him like a dog.

On arriving at Wady Sudr, there ensued a prodigious bustle of pitching tents, while we sheltered ourselves from the wind behind some clumps of retem; and after a delay of two hours or more, dinner was served in state, with its soup, three courses of meat, pudding, dessert, and coffee, while a lantern hung at the door of our tent. After evening prayers together, we were glad to find our way to bed, and to enjoy a most luxurious sleep.

The Sabbath was spent here pleasantly. During the forenoon we came together in one of our tents, read the 105th Psalm, the 12th, 13th, and 14th chapters of Exodus, with conversational suggestions, and prayers. We had fortunately taken two hymn-and-tune books, which proved to us a great source of pleasure throughout the journey. Many a desert spot echoed to the sound. The Arabs heard in Wady Sudr, "He leadeth me," "All hail the power of Jesus' name," and "My soul, be on thy guard." And our Syrian (Maronite) dragoman, who was afterward present on one occasion, with some Oriental ostentation informed us he thanked God that he was travelling with Christians. The forenoon closed pleasantly in this service.

After noon lunch, we walked to a spring or well toward the coast not visited by travellers, at least not laid down on the map, Ain Berwad. It proved to be much more distant than we had apprehended, being about six miles northwest from our camp, and apparently about a mile from the sea, in Wady Atha. Our sheikh, who accompanied us, was at times apparently at a loss to find the way, and some three

times he endeavored to turn us back, telling us in pantomime that it would be sunset before our return. But we made him lead on. At length its proximity was indicated by numerous camel-tracks conducting toward it, the moisture of the soil, and increased vegetation. There was an excavation through the sand, sloping to an opening three feet in diameter. The surface of the water was seven feet below the level of the ground, and there was a vacant space of six or eight inches between it and the hardened earth above. The water was two feet seven inches deep, and extended round underneath with a diameter of nine feet in every direction, and for one quarter of the distance the circumference could not be reached with our canes. The water was brackish, but drinkable. In returning, one of our number completely outwalked the sheikh, who did his best to keep up, but in vain. On the way I observed at least four different kinds of herbs, the most common of which was greedily eaten by our camels. The only living beings in sight to-day, besides those of our own company, were one flock of a dozen ravens and somebody's dog. The high and monotonous wall of Er Rahah was relieved by the single peak of Jebel Bisher, which we found by our pocket sextant to be just seven miles and twelve rods distant from our camp, seven degrees north of east. At Jebel Bisher, according to Mr. Holland, is a good supply of water. On the west lay the Red Sea, in sight, and the deep-colored, barren, but picturesque, mountain range on its farther shore stretched far away to the south.

The morning of February 9th opened clear and cold. At nine o'clock the thermometer stood at thirty-four degrees. We had set seven o'clock as the hour of departure; but with Oriental delay it proved to be eight when we actually started. There was a preliminary hour and a

half of hopeless confusion, loud, incessant talk, and shiftless bustling. Our dragoman, Joseph Tannus, his stout, plucky, and admirable servant Ibrahim, and the cook, were the only persons who seemed to know just what to do and how. The particular function and effort of each Arab seemed to be to escape hard work, and to save his own camel from heavy burdens. There were some camels, however, that seemed to have no friends. Our sheikh, Selim, was a mild and kindly man, apparently without much force or authority, and with no very intense attachment to the truth. Joseph did not hesitate to pronounce him a liar. His principal marks of distinction were a brand-new turban, a present from the dragoman on concluding their bargain, and the privilege of riding a camel, for which the dragoman had to pay, but which Selim, with a prudent economy, dispensed with, and saved his money by trudging on foot. Here too he practised a further economy by going barefooted most of the time, reserving his sandals for hard and rough places. The other Arabs all imitated his example in this respect; and two or three of them afterward appealed to our sympathies by showing us great cracks in their feet. We gave them the sympathy, but not the backsheesh. That was so arranged with Joseph.

By the resolute bearing of Joseph Tannus, seconded by the sturdy vigor of Ibrahim and the voiceless industry of the cook, accompanied by some sharp words, now and then a decided pull or even a solid push, all was arranged, and we were off. It was a large apparatus to convey four men. Besides our three Syrian attendants, there were at the start eight Arabs and fourteen camels. Eight of these camels were for ourselves and four other mounted persons (the dragoman, servant, cook, sheikh), and the others for burdens. The camels that we rode also carried our valises and some

light things, which the Arabs rather steadily endeavored to increase more than was suitable. We four and the dragoman usually rode in a cavalcade by ourselves, till we left Nukhl. Ibrahim led the other company, seated on a great pile of light wares. Conspicuous afar off also was the cook, wearing a sort of dingy-white night-cap-looking head-gear, and perpetually muffled like a mummy from top to toe, as he rode along, seemingly insensible to all earthly things, until when at night he seated himself on a low stool by the fire and gave his whole mind to the dinner. Our loaded camels carried two tents for us four, a light lunch-tent for noon, and for the dragoman and his aids a fourth tent, which was expanded on one side for a kitchen. Each of our two tents was furnished with two folding iron bedsteads and suitable bedclothes, matting for the ground, and a table having a showy Oriental cover. On show occasions a lighted lantern hung at our tent door, and every evening candles within enabled us to read or write at pleasure. A huge and heavy kitchen chest carried an abundant supply of table-ware for the several courses of our meals. Our water was always good and abundant. It was procured from good fountains (at first from the Nile water at Suez), and was carried, not in skin bags or bottles, but in two long iron-hooped casks furnished with locks, and strung one on each side of a strong camel. The Arabs carried their own supply in skin bottles. A coop of turkeys that gobbled along the way, another of chickens that had their liberty when we reached the camp-ground, finding no inducement to part from our company, a box of pigeons, a crate of oranges that lasted us till we found a fresh supply at Hebron, were obvious to the eye; while packed away out of sight were hard-boiled eggs, a supply of excellent bread, canned meats, tongue, ham, sausage, rice, potatoes, jellies.

nuts, figs, raisins, dates, prunes, and various minor things. Mutton and gazelle meat we found on the way. The murmuring Israelites would have complained still more bitterly could they have seen a company provided with such comfort and luxury upon their very track. As we moved forth one of the Bedouin marched with sword and gun—the gun of antique pattern and the sword of clumsy form—and several others had swords slung at their sides. But after the first day or two of exhibition, these mostly disappeared. We ourselves carried three revolvers, but, like the weapons of the Arabs, they were wholly for the impression of the thing. They showed what we could do if we would, but what we would not do on any provocation. From this point of view they were quite impressive, and highly useful on condition of never being used.

During the forenoon of this day we passed some twenty-five larger or smaller depressions, each of them with lines of vegetation along their courses. The shrubs were just beginning their spring growth, the buds being not yet quite fully opened. The largest wady was Wady Wardan (nine hours and three-quarters from Ayún Músa), a shallow depression of the surface, which it took about an hour to cross. Its whole breadth was strung with lines of desert herbs. Down this valley, about two miles from the sea, is the fountain of Bir Aboo Suweirah, laid down on all the maps, but not very particularly described. Robinson, who did not visit it, says that it yields “a small quantity of sweet-water, but dries up when the rains fail for a season.” Mr. Holland says there are “two water-holes about eight feet deep. A few stunted palm-trees grew near them. The water-holes might be increased by digging. The water is slightly brackish, but drinkable.”

After lunch (from one till two o'clock) we passed for two

hours and a half over a region almost utterly destitute of any green thing. Even Wady Amarah, a comparatively deep depression, showed almost no vegetation where we crossed it. On leaving Wady Amarah the path rose to a somewhat higher level among hillocks of sandstone and sand, and approached nearer the range of Er Rahah than before.⁶ Just before five o'clock we reached Ain Hawwarah, somewhat commonly recognized since Burckhardt as Marah of "bitter waters." As we travelled over this long desolate way, notwithstanding the coolness of the morning and the earliness of the season, the sun had poured down on us heavily. The thermometer, which had stood but two degrees above the freezing-point at nine o'clock, indicated ninety-eight degrees in the sun at noon. It was a singular contrast to the cold, cutting wind of Saturday. The heat continued oppressive till we reached Hawwarah. We did not wonder that the Israelites, who passed along here perhaps a month later in the season, after their long, hot, and dreary march,⁸ and their fresh recollections of the water of the Nile, were dreadfully discouraged when they reached Marah and found no good water. This fountain has been often described. Its condition varies somewhat from time to time in the surroundings and in the quality of the water.

⁶ Schubert gives the height of the locality at 484 Paris feet above the sea, as indicated by the barometer.

⁷ Burckhardt, *Reisen*, ii. 776; Schubert, *Reisen*, ii. 274; Robinson, *Researches*, i. 97; Grant, *Egypt and Sinai*, p. 197; Strauss, *Sinai and Golgotha*, p. 97; Wellsted, *Reise in Arabien*, ii. 38; Laval, *Voyage*, p. 215; Tischendorf, *Reise in den Orient*, i. 188; Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 116. So also Winer, Gesenius, Keil, Kurtz, Fürst.

⁸ The distance, given by Burckhardt, Ebers, and Laval as fifteen and a fourth hours, by Robinson sixteen and a half, found by ourselves and Graul sixteen hours, and by Tischendorf fifteen or sixteen hours, would be a good "three days'" march to a lumbered host like the Israelites; and a suitable site for Elim is also found in due time.

It is in the centre of a low flat-topped mound, which is largely a calcareous deposit, and which perhaps would be found to have been formed in the same way as Ayún Músa. In an excavation five or six feet in circumference, some two feet deep stands the water. Earlier travellers (Robinson and Bartlett) found ghurkud shrubs near it, which have now disappeared. The neighboring clump of palms which Burckhardt saw in 1812, or a similar one, still remains to the south of the hill; and still nearer the spring, Randall, in 1861, observed the stump of another palm. A few desert herbs are in the vicinity, but otherwise all around it is a region of barren sand. The water seems to vary in quality. Burckhardt says it is so bitter that men cannot drink it, nor will camels unless very thirsty. Robinson found the water two feet deep, its "taste unpleasant, saltish, and bitter," but "not much worse than that of Ayún Músa," although his Arabs considered it to be the worst water in all these regions. Bartlett, after being told by his Arabs that it was bad, and though unable to discern anything particularly nauseous about it, found the effect unpleasant, resembling that of Epsom salts. Randall calls it brackish, salt, and unpleasant, tasting like a weak solution of Glauber's salts. Ebers found it "bitter." He saw two or three barrels of water in it, and a channel in the side, through which from appearance the water must formerly have run. Wellsted found it salt and bitter; and his Arabs said when, as he held some of the water in his hand, he accidentally used the name Marah, "Thou sayest the truth, it is *morra*." Graul makes the same remark, and had the same word from his Arabs, "Marah, Marah." He found that in want of better water the Terabins drank of it. So when Ebers was about to taste it, his Arabs called out "*morra*," bitter. Laval also mentions that "the Arabs

have preserved the equivalents of the Hebrew name Marah in their tongue, 'moye merra,' or 'morra,' signifying bitter water." Tischendorf, in 1859, was "surprised to find it less disagreeable and bitter than in 1853. Palmer found it "bitter," but "drinkable and palatable." Mr. Holland remarks that this state of the water is exceptional; that it is at one time quite drinkable, and at another so bitter as to be nauseous; that the Arabs never drink it if they can avoid it. This statement of Mr. Holland solves the whole question. The water at times, probably when the flow is very copious after rains, is drinkable, but statedly it is disagreeable and sometimes even nauseous. The palm-bushes near it are the first that the traveller encounters after leaving Ayún Músa.

In favor of this place as the Marah of the Scriptures, there are the distances from Ayún Músa (a fair "three days' journey" for such a company), the fact that it is the first water lying directly on their track, and the expectation naturally awakened by the palm-bush indications, the quality of the water itself, still presented and still recognized, the correspondence of the next station, Elim, and perhaps we may add the not unsuitable camping-ground a little beyond the place.

There are some who object to this view, among others Lepsius. Having framed a very different itinerary, he objected to this identification.⁹ But the weight of his objections is naturally diminished by the circumstances that he had not travelled over this portion of the coast, and being obliged to depend on the statements of others, that he labored under several positive errors of fact as to the respective distances. He also objects to the lack of pasturage

⁹ Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt* (Bohn's edition), p. 207.

around. But in February, 1850, Laval found a portion of the tribe of Terabins, with their flocks, encamped in the wady Hawwarah, north-west of the fountain; and again, in March, he saw more than fifty of their camels in the neighborhood of it. Schubert also speaks of a small basin-like valley opposite the fountain, to the north, that he visited, which seemed as though it were enclosed and arranged for a camping place. It was (February 20th) grown up and blooming with "herbs of rich foliage, indicating the good condition of the soil." At no great distance south, as will presently be mentioned, we also crossed a large amount of vegetation.

It was objected, however, that the quantity of water is too slight to meet the conditions of the case. But Mr. Holland has remarked that "the thick calcareous deposit seems to prove that the water-supply was formerly larger than at the present time." Robinson thought he recognized "traces of running water round about." To this may be added that the palm-trees growing at some little distance would indicate water beneath the surface in other points than at the hillock itself. Schubert, moreover, maintains that the path to the adjacent valley "is in many places moist."¹⁰ Graul learned in Cairo, after his return from Sinai, that "the noted Sheikh Tuweileb knows of a fountain so bitter that it is drunk neither by men nor beasts. It lies on the hills to the right (north) of Ain Hawwarah at Tell el Amarah, and a path conducts directly from it to the water in Wady Gharandel," farther south.¹¹ If this statement can be received, it indicates a wider region of bitter water. But in any case, the aspect of Hawwarah and the immediate vicinity is sufficient to obviate objections from the small amount of water

¹⁰ Reise, ii. 274.

¹¹ Graul, p. 198.

in this one fountain. There is no object to excavate in other places for more water, since no one uses it except in an emergency. The Arabs do not even take particular pains to keep the fountain open. We found the basin very nearly full of sand, probably blown in by the storm of Saturday.¹² No water was flowing, and the sand was dry upon the surface. It was only by digging a foot or eighteen inches that we reached the water. Indeed, it does not clearly appear that at any time the water has actually flowed. Mr. Palmer asserts the meaning of the name Ain Hawwarah to be, not "fountain of destruction" (as given by Robinson), but the designation of "a small pool which sinks into the soil by little and little, leaving the remainder unfit to drink."¹³ No traveller mentions having seen the water actually flowing out. The general agreement of travellers to recognize this spot as Marah is as noticeable as is the general validity of the reasons on which the opinion rests.

As we passed southward from Ain Hawwarah we soon crossed a depression where for about two miles the way was studded thick with lines of shrubs. Schubert specifies six different species of vegetation which he found at Hawwarah and southward of it.¹⁴ Robinson, who appears from this point to have kept a little to the eastward of our track, saw on his left in half an hour a small plain or basin in which water stands after abundant rains, causing a soil of rich loam, which produces a luxuriant vegetation. He also saw a few goats feeding on the hills around, watched by females.

During the day the sea was occasionally in sight. We

¹² Mr. G. S. Drew found it "a sanded-up fountain." Colenso's *Examination of the Pentateuch*, p. 48.

¹³ *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 40.

¹⁴ *Lepidium Draba*; *Matthiolum tricuspidata*; *Farsitia Egyptiaca*; *Diplolanis pendula*; *Frankenia*; *Nitraria tridentata*.

also met no less than sixty camels loaded with charcoal from the peninsula, and thirty loaded with grindstones. Randall mentions a company of camels, also loaded with bags of charcoal, that he met a few miles farther along, south of Wady Useit. Other travellers speak of the same thing. Burckhardt, in 1812, found an Arab spending several weeks in Wady Shellal in burning coal, and at Hudherah several others preparing it for transportation to Cairo.¹⁵ Brugsch encountered camels loaded with charcoal for Cairo.¹⁶ We afterward had abundant occasion to see how recklessly the wood of the country is thus destroyed by the Arabs, and we have means of knowing that the process has long been going on. W. H. Bartlett alludes to this habit of destroying the trees.¹⁷ Mehemet Ali, in 1828, imposed an annual tribute of charcoal on the Arabs of the peninsula.¹⁸ Ludolph of Suthem, in 1336, speaks of the lay brothers of Sinai as selling coal and dates in great quantity in Cairo.¹⁹ It appears to be the most regular business of the natives.

Our path at length led us upon a higher limestone region, strewn with flints. At last we turned round a rocky ledge, and in one hour fifty-five minutes from Ain Hawwarah we entered Wady Gharandel, as the darkness came upon us rapidly. We followed the wady toward the sea, between high banks on both sides, till, in a little circle of trees and shrubs, we found our tents nearly ready, and gladly took shelter and rest, after being about ten hours (nine hours and forty-five minutes) in the saddle. Excepting the Arabs and camels, the only living things we had seen during the day were a dog accompanying his master, ten or twelve ravens, and a dragon-fly. Arriving in camp about seven, it

¹⁵ Reise, p. 808, 983.

¹⁶ Wanderung, p. 98.

¹⁷ Forty Days in the Desert, p. 41.

¹⁸ Ebers, Durch Gosen, p. 233.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 562.

was past eleven when dinner was over. But, as during all our subsequent camp-life, the vigorous exercise and fresh air of the day gave us excellent digestions and delightful sleep. We drank at dinner, and took with us for supply on our farther journey, water from the stream near by, which most modern scholars accept as Elim. It was excellent.

The morning of February 10th opened clear and cool, the thermometer marking thirty-seven degrees at nine o'clock. The morning's light disclosed the situation of our camp, in the midst of a circle of tamarisks, relieved by five small palm-trees, two of them close by our tent, some ghurkud-bushes, and perhaps a few small acacias. Three little birds were chirping about while we breakfasted. After breakfast we hastened to the stream, some twenty rods away. In the west bed of the wady the water was oozing from the earth in two places a few rods apart, and a little farther down it came out from beneath the bank, and in one or two other places along the level bed still below. It runs off in two or three brisk streamlets. After a deliberate calculation on the spot, we agreed that two barrels a minute was a small reckoning of the supply within one hundred and fifty yards of the source. Probably a careful examination would have disclosed still other sources below. The bushes on the sides showed that very lately the water had covered a space one hundred and fifty feet wide to the depth of two feet. Pushing across the stream to another cluster of trees on the north-western side, here I counted about thirty young palm-trees, and as many as ten old stumps, several of which showed marks of fire. Bonar, in 1855, counted eighty palm-trees, and then ceased counting. All around this large space the soil was moist, and looked as though water would be readily reached by excavation. Two spots appeared like wells that had been filled up. Several little birds were

twittering around, and I plucked two kinds of flowers thus early in the year. A very large area around was enclosed by a sheltering circle of hills, perhaps sixty feet high; and as we looked back upon the place on leaving it, we could not help thinking what an admirable and inviting spot for a large encampment. The water we found to be excellent—as good as the Nile water. And nowhere on the peninsula except at Wady Feiran did we find it so copious.

Nearly every traveller and scholar from the time of Burckhardt have recognized this as the Elim of the Bible (Exod. xv. 27), where were twelve wells of water and three-score and ten palm-trees.²⁰ The relative situation, next to Marah and a very short march from it, the abundant water and the trees, and all the peculiarly marked and inviting features of the place, make the supposition in the highest degree credible, and render it even improbable that it should not have been occupied as a camping-place.

It is true that not all travellers have seen it under circumstances so favorable as did we. The quality of the water, and possibly the supply, when we visited it must have been exceptional. Robinson crossed the valley above the spring, but his Arabs procured water for him about half an hour below, “from fountains with a running brook.” It was brackish. Randall found no running streams, but the water filtered into holes dug one or two feet deep in the dry channel. Did he reach the real fountain? The water, he says, had “an earthy, brackish taste, far inferior to our Nile water.” He speaks of the large comparative amount

²⁰ In addition to the names given in connection with Marah may be mentioned Knobel, Kalisch, Murphy, Holland, as among those who have regarded Gharandel as Elim. Laborde, Lepsius, and Ewald are the most notable exceptions; the first (with Dr. Wilson) holding Wady Useit, the second Wady Shebeikeh, the third Wady Taiyibeh, to be Elim.

of vegetation, fifteen or twenty palm-trees, against the roots of one of which the reckless Arabs had recently kindled a fire. He mentions the marks of freshets that had filled the tamarisk shrubs to the height of several feet with mud, decayed leaves, and bits of brush. Ebers found the water in few places deep enough to carry a boy's bark-boat, but heard the song of birds, and saw palms, tamarisks, and acacias, and strips of grass and herbs, affording pasturage for camels. Palmer found a pleasant stream of running water, and "at one point a broken rock and a slight change in the level of the stream afforded an opportunity to bathe." Burckhardt found a brook. Russegger and Strauss speak of the excellent quality of the water. Tischendorf, who had tasted it several times, and "seen it many times flowing a full stream," found it "always palatable." W. H. Bartlett found it welling out at the foot of a sandstone rock, forming a small pool, trickling off, and at length forming a reedy marsh interspersed with bushes and dwarf palm-trees, tamarisk and other shrubs; "and as there are also considerable masses of similar vegetation above this point, there are probably several other springs that nourish it." Russegger mentions the high grass that furnishes pasturage. Mr. Holland describes the whole case thus, and virtually accounts for the somewhat varying statements of travellers, according to the time and place of their crossing the wady: "Just below the point where the road crosses [Wady Gharandel], several water-holes are found, which have been frequently described. But it is not generally known how large a supply of water is to be found about two miles lower down the wady. A stream here gradually oozes out from the bed of the wady, and soon forms considerable pools of water, which are overgrown with rushes, and affords a favorite resort for wild-ducks and other birds. An abundant supply

of water is to be found here during the whole year. The banks of the stream and dry pools from which the water has evaporated are often covered with a white deposit of natron, and the standing water is brackish and unwholesome; but when running briskly and freshly drawn, it is very drinkable, and the traveller's water-skins are generally filled here on his way to and from the south. The lower portions of Wady Gharandel are well clothed with tamarisks and palms, and a few tents of the Terabin Arabs are generally to be found here."²¹

The head of Wady Gharandel, as explored by Palmer, is "a broad, open space broken up with sand-hills, and covered with the tracks of numberless gazelles, ibexes, and other animals."

²¹ The Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 416.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ENCAMPMENT BY THE SEA, AND THE WILDERNESS OF SIN.

AT eight and three-quarters o'clock, February 10th, we were on our way. We ascertained the distance of Jebel Hammam Farun to be five and sixty-five hundredths miles south, two and one-fourth degrees west, and the variation of the compass to be thirteen degrees thirty minutes. The thermometer marked five degrees above the freezing-point at seven o'clock, but gradually rose to fifty-nine degrees. As we left Wady Gharandel, the country became more rough, broken, and rocky; flint-stones were scattered along the path, and we were more closely surrounded by limestone cliffs. Numerous camels were browsing in the neighborhood of the wady. Among them we saw several very young animals, one not more than three days old. The young of almost all animals, whether kitten, calf, colt, or even pig, are graceful and pretty. But a young camel is as ungraceful a creature as ever made his appearance on the earth. Lank, bony, and spider-legged, every line about him not a curve but a crook, he looks as though he was made for the witches to ride on their midnight expeditions.

In one of the smaller wadies (I think Wady Telmin), which we reached at ten o'clock, we found four or five varieties of wild flowers in bloom, and in three-quarters of an hour more we crossed Wady Useit, which a few persons have supposed to be Elim. W. H. Bartlett, indeed, who had followed it up from its mouth near the sea-shore, imag-

ined that the Israelites must have done the same. But his own description of the intense toil and oppressive heat, "the groans of distressed camels," his own "gasping and exhausted" condition, and even the severe sufferings of the Arabs, as they wound along a narrow bed of sand, "sometimes but wide enough to admit a camel or two abreast, between towering walls many hundred feet high," with a broiling sun pouring down, shows how singularly improbable it is that they should have chosen such a way, when the direct and perfectly easy one by which we came was open before them. Mr. Holland briefly confirms his account by saying that Wady Useit is "too steep and narrow for loaded camels to climb without great difficulty."

Nor could the Israelites have passed along the coast without coming up Wady Useit. For, as Bartlett says, "Jebel Hammam, bold and striking, dropped its huge mountain mass sheer into the sea beyond the plain, and effectually blocked up further progress along the shore." The Israelites would not have left their path, to regain it by proceeding up Wady Useit. Mr. Palmer also remarks that the "cliffs of Jebel Hammam cut off progress along the shore." When we crossed Wady Useit, therefore, we were undoubtedly still on the track of the Hebrews. Here I counted fourteen palm-trees, scattered more or less, and two of them some distance beyond the others. There were also retem-bushes. For some distance the soil was moist, and in one place a little water was visible. The Arabs said that the water was bad. The soil in many spots was covered with white. The limestone cliffs were not far away. We had also begun to encounter, and continued during the day to pass, numerous thorny acacias ("shittim wood"), here, however, of small size.

Robinson found "a little brackish water standing in

holes," and the valley "resembling Gharandel, but not so large." Randall found "the water that stood in the pools so salt and brackish as to be unfit for use." Graul calls it "a very salt rivulet." Seetzen "observed here a very small salt pool or well." Schubert's Arabs found water only by digging. Some writers, as has been mentioned, have taken this for the Elim of the Scriptures. The only reasons alleged are the short distance of Gharandel from the station Marah, and the comparatively long march from Gharandel to the encampment by the sea, nearly eight hours. To the first it may be said that there was no special pressure now upon the Israelites to cause haste, and a favorable halting and resting place like Gharandel would constitute a valid and decisive reason for an early halt. It is constantly so done at the present day, even in smaller companies. The longer subsequent march (seven and a half hours, as we made it) would be partly explained by the same motive, the desire to reach a favorable place; it would have been rendered easier by the shorter journey preceding; and further yet, we are at liberty to understand, if necessary, that though the head-quarters of Moses and his elders reached the sea-side encampment, the mass of the people may have followed at various distances as they could, lingering perhaps in Wady Taiyibeh.

On the other hand it seems incredible that such a favorable and favorite camping-ground as Gharandel, after the experience of Marah, should have been passed by, to halt in a place every way inferior, and especially defective in regard to the quality and quantity of its water. The general opinion in favor of Gharandel would seem to be thoroughly well-founded.

From Wady Useit our track carried us in a south-easterly direction, leaving the high dark mass of Jebel Hammam

Farun on the right. Over beyond it, according to the Arab tradition, is the place where Pharaoh, after long struggling with the waves, finally sank beneath the boiling waters, and his ghost still haunts the sea. The hot spring, of the temperature of one hundred and seventy degrees, that trickles forth from its western cliff and mingles at once with the sea, may have had something to do with the locality of the tradition.

We lunched in Wady Ethal, where there was considerable vegetation of low shrubs, which our camels began immediately to eat. There was no visible water, but three small palms were a good indication that it might probably be found by digging. We saw a few small birds a little farther on. Wady Ethal runs toward the sea, but it was explored by Captain Wilson and Mr. Palmer, and found to be impassable even for foot-passengers. In keeping on, therefore, into Wady Shebeikeh, the only alternative route, we were clearly still on the track of Israel. But after a little, Wady Shebeikeh, running somewhat east of south-east, is met by Wady Hamr, which runs a little north of west. From the point of junction Wady Taiyibeh runs directly to the sea-side. The northern route to Sinai proceeds up Wady Hamr. The southern follows down Taiyibeh. We took the southern, reserving the other for a future exploration. In direction Taiyibeh is almost a continuation of Shebeikeh. A little bird welcomed us to it with a song. High cliffs rose on both sides. In the middle of it, for some distance, ran a depression about four feet deep, as clear and sharp as a railway cut. The valley showed signs of recent rains. A sharp bend to the right brought us to a place of remarkable echo, which we tested with abundance of strange sounds. The valley continued to wind between high cliffs, till, after about an hour from

the entrance, the sight of bushy palm-trees indicated water. We found it issuing from a bed of rock, and running off in a small stream, less than at Gharandel. It was not so good as that of Gharandel, but better than Ayún Músa, and though brackish, was drinkable. After running for some distance, it seemed to sink into the sand. There were trunks of large palm-trees lying prostrate, and from twenty to thirty smaller ones growing. Farther along the water seemed to have swept with such violence as to have destroyed vegetation, except here and there a tamarisk, and left almost no chance for it to grow. Along the line of this valley the limestone of the northern region meets the sandstone, with a noticeable mixture of white and dark. As we neared the end of the valley, the effect of the light and shade upon the dark hues of the southern side was singularly fine. There was yellowish brown at the top, then burnt-umber, then purple, red, and yellow below. Turning the corner at the end of the valley, our tents stood on the left, the Red Sea glistened and rippled in front, and a spacious area lay spread out between the hillside and the water's edge. It was a sandy plain, extending some four or five miles along the shore, shut in by a range of wild cliffs, and terminated by a high promontory on the north, and a rocky wall approaching close to the sea on the south. There is scarcely room for doubt that here was the "Encampment by the Sea," and that down this very valley of Taiyibeh the Israelites had travelled before us. Here was room for a great camp. I walked about a mile from our tents to the sea, and picked up shells and corals on the shore. The sun went down amid a gorgeous array of bright clouds behind the high mountain range west of the sea. In the evening the stars shone out with that wonderful brightness that made Oriental astronomers and astrologers.

On February 11th we left camp at eight o'clock. For nearly three hours we kept along the coast, occasionally picking up shells, corals, and sponges, looking out over the water, that glittered like an infinity of diamonds and a "numberless smile" in the morning sun, and turning often to gaze upon the party-colored ruin-shaped cliffs immediately on our left. "They are composed," says Schubert, "of red sandstone, with porphyry, variegated sandstone, and flint-bearing chalk." At length we reached a place where there was but fifteen feet between the vertical rock and the sea, and where the wet surface made it evident that at high water the sea actually beat against the cliffs. Mount Serbal here came in sight. Burckhardt, on his return from Sinai, was unable to pass this cliff, and was obliged to climb the hill. Ebers did the same. Immediately beyond we came upon the northern point of a plain that extends some twenty-five miles down the coast, the plain of El Murkha, now quite commonly believed to be the Wilderness of Sin¹ (Exod. xvi.). If we assume the journey of the Israelites to have been by the lower route from this point, there would seem to be no place which answers so well. The plain stretches away south to the mouth of Wady Feiran. Our way, however, lay nearly east across its northern end. It was a dead level, covered with occasional tufts of desert shrubs, which the camels clutched at greedily in passing. The sun poured down intensely, and the thermometer stood at ninety-six degrees. It was a natural place for Israelitish murmuring, especially if they followed the plain south to

¹ Lengerke, Robinson, Ritter, Kurtz, Stanley, Strauss, Tischendorf (apparently), Palmer, and others, including the members of the British Ordnance Survey Expedition. Some fix on Debbet er Ramleh, on the northern route; and there are yet other places suggested, Wady Es Sheikh (Rosenmüller and Kalisch), or some of the wadies south of El Murkha (Ebers and others).

Wady Feiran. We passed, on the left, but did not visit, the fountain of El Murkha, which is the most noted watering-place on this lower route. Indeed, we could learn of no other between here and the mouth of Wady Feiran along the shore. We had no occasion to visit it, having a sufficient supply of water. W. H. Bartlett was less fortunate, and, after considerable suffering from thirst, was relieved by a supply procured from this fountain. Burekhardt visited it, and found a small pond ("see") in the sandstone rock at the foot of the mountain, and two date-palms growing near. The water was better than the Ayún Músa, but not very good.²

It was in the Wilderness of Sin that the manna was provided, and the first supply of quails furnished the Israelites (Exod. xvi.). Though we encountered here only two ravens and a lizard, it is noticeable that W. H. Bartlett saw "numerous quails" and "several gazelles."³

Some reasons for this assumption are, first, that from the encampment by the sea this would be the direct route, and no reason can be found why the host should be brought to the sea-side and then made to retrace their

² Burekhardt ascribes its bad taste partly to the moss, dirt, and filth with which the fountain is filled, but chiefly to the salt quality of the surrounding soil. It is next in importance to Ayún Músa and Gharandel, on the route from Suez to Tor. About half an hour before reaching this fountain, on his way from Wady Shellal, he came to a supply of rain-water in some natural cisterns, which he mentions as the only sweet-water between Suez and Tor, adding that the Arabs frequently turn aside from the direct route to visit it. He speaks of "many fissures in the rocks," filled by the winter rains. It is about three miles from the sea, and probably is the same that is mentioned by other travellers.

³ Bartlett, *Forty Days*, p. 40. It may be mentioned here that Schubert, when in the neighborhood of Kibroth Hattaavah, encountered an immense flock of migratory birds flying over in such numbers as he had never seen before (Reise, ii. 361). Brugsch breakfasted on partridge at Major Macdonald's, in Wady Maghâra (Wanderung, p. 68). Bonar "frequently met with quails in small flocks" (Desert of Sinai, p. 112).

steps up Wady Taiyibeh to Wady Hamr. There is absolutely no special attraction or advantage in this sea-side plain as a place of encampment for them, unless it lay directly on their route. Secondly, as we afterward found, on personal examination of all the conjectured routes, we were satisfied that the southern was far the easiest and most feasible for such a host. Thirdly, the situation and the circumstances of El Murkha in several respects admirably corresponded to that of the Desert of Sin—(a) its implied oppressive character; (b) its proximity to the encampment by the sea; (c) the absence of a water-supply, apparently, till on reaching Rephidim. The objection made by Ebers, Murphy, and others, that the Wilderness of Sin was between Elim and Sinai, seems scarcely to carry weight. El Murkha is on the way, and properly “between.” The absence of pasturage for the flocks, which has also been urged as an objection, would apply with about equal force to either route. The valleys east of El Murkha are perhaps as favorable for pasturage as those along and beyond Wady Hamr.

We were two hours in crossing El Murkha. At length the approach to Wady Shellal (the cataract wady) was indicated by deep courses of winter torrents, along which lay strewn trunks and bushes of palm-trees. I counted ten dead trees as we passed along. It was afterward a mystery to me where they all came from, for I noticed only two living palm-trees after we entered the valley, but numerous dead ones lying along the ground. Almost immediately on entering the valley we lost sight of the sea; nor did we see it again till we stood on Mount Serbal. The valley went twisting about, and the mountains began to show the deep and beautiful coloring for which this whole region is celebrated. In one place there was a light brown, or fawn-color

above, then shades of amber, dark brown, reddish brown, and red. Later in the day I saw purple, dark green, and other shades. The distant mountains had a deeper hue. The rough crags towered high on each side as we wound along, the upper portions being here apparently so crumbling and easily disintegrated as scarcely to admit of permanent soil and vegetation. Lower down, the bright green caper-plant (hyssop, perhaps) hung out here and there from the crevices; and along the path, and in little recesses where there seemed scarcely a place for them, we found many flowers. Near the entrance of Wady Shellal we began to encounter acacia-trees, of good size and in sufficient numbers to show how easily these valleys might be filled with them. During two days we were scarcely at any time out of sight of them; but most of them were largely stripped of their boughs, and many of them had been cut down by the Bedouin. From what I observed here and elsewhere, it was easy to understand how, in a few years, the peninsula would be stripped of these trees; and it was not difficult to see how, under a different regime, these same valleys might once have yielded a much larger amount of vegetation, as well as a more uniform and abundant supply of water. The more they are denuded, the more hopeless and almost impossible it seems that they should ever be, or have been, otherwise. The moisture comes now only in rain-storms, which, by reason of their impetuosity, and the want of soil or vegetation to retard and absorb, sweep everything before them.

We passed out of Wady Shellal, and rose rapidly till we reached a narrow way formed by nearly vertical strata, where the softer rock between had decayed and left a wall on both sides. We were in a sandstone region. At length we came to Nugb Buderah (the "pass of the sword"), and in

five minutes climbed one hundred and ten feet through rough and rugged rocks, made passable by zigzag cuttings and side supports of rubble-wall. This ascent had been greatly improved by Major Macdonald during his mining operations in Wady Maghâra. Its previous condition may be judged from the account of W. H. Bartlett, who says that "the camels found it so difficult that the rocks resounded with their cries: it was only by removing their loads in the steeper parts of the ascent that they were ultimately enabled to accomplish it."⁴ And yet he speaks of it as being then "partly built up with rough stones." Laval's camels had to be unloaded here in 1850. A heavily-laden host like the Israelites would naturally have avoided such a tiresome struggle, provided there was a more feasible way.

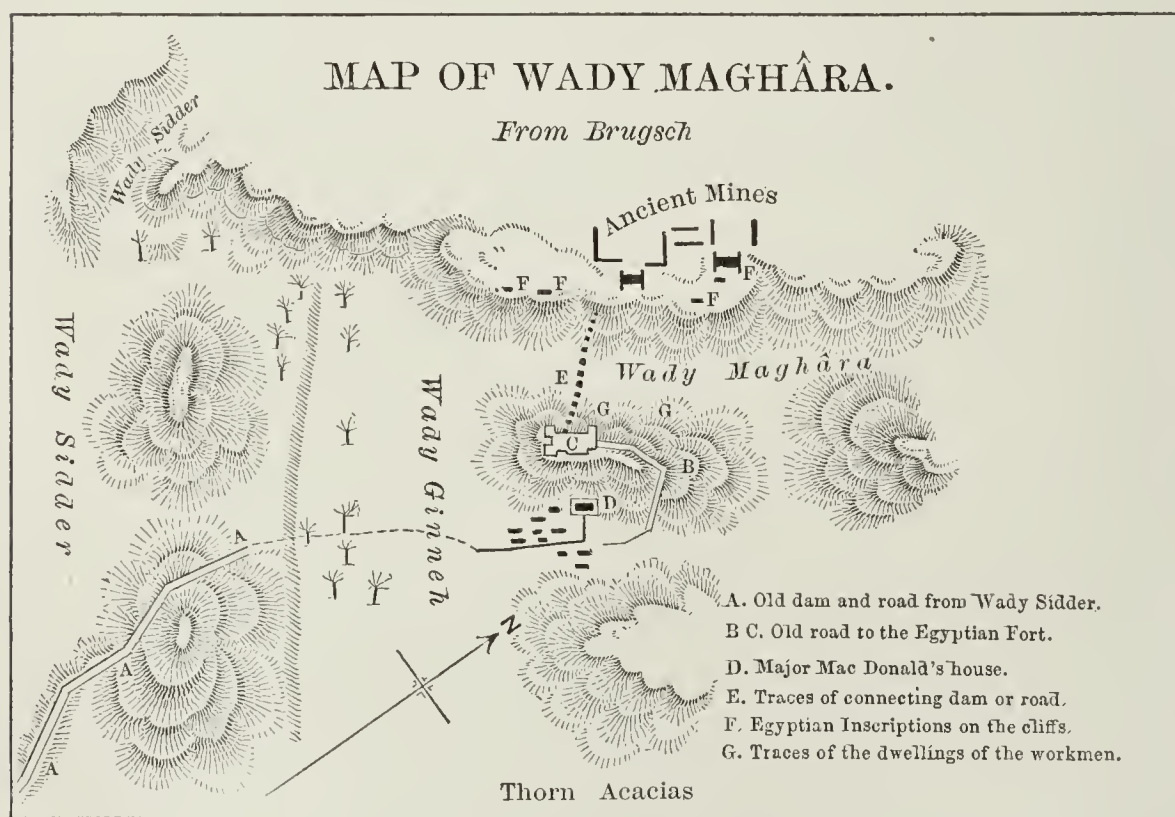
On emerging from the pass, the country opened before us in wild roughness and titanic grandeur and desolation, draped in weird colors corresponding to the stern aspect of the scenery—chalky, gray, green, red, brown, and almost black. We were passing along the transition-line from sandstone to granite, porphyry, and gneiss. Our path again led along a high ridge through a narrow lane between almost vertical rock-strata, and we descended into Wady Nugb Buderah. The thermometer at noon had stood at ninety-eight degrees, but the afternoon and evening were mild and comfortable. Our tents were pitched in a fine, sheltered, circular nook, which was surrounded by high and abrupt mountain ranges, and sprinkled with a few acacias.

⁴ W. H. Bartlett mentions that before reaching this pass he "had the good-fortune to obtain, for the first time since leaving Cairo, cold fresh water, supplied by a spring high up in the mountain" (p. 41). Though he calls it Wady Buderah, he probably means Wady Shellal. Graul's Arabs also found water in Wady Shellal, at Ain Asmar (p. 226).

CHAPTER X.

EGYPTIAN MINES, AND THE WRITTEN VALLEY.

February 12th.—An early start brought us in thirty-five minutes to Wady Igneh, and in three-quarters of an hour more to the entrance of Wady Maghâra (“the valley of caves,” or mines). We had ridden along Wady Igneh, gathering numerous little flowers, and turned off from the di-



rect road almost due north into Wady Maghâra. As we entered, a singular conical hill stood right in front of us, splitting in two the opening between the hills. The western valley is Maghâra. A climb of one hundred and fifty feet up the sharp, rough sandstone declivity on our left brought us to a series of remarkable inscriptions, one of

them older than the great Pyramid of Geezeh, and one of them by the builder of that pyramid, yet in the main entirely legible, and some of them as distinct as a modern inscription, wonderfully clear and fresh. Here we copied the cartouch of Cheops, of the great Pyramid; and read close by that of a still earlier monarch, Snefru, nearly, if not quite, the oldest inscription in the world, and the names of many of their successors. Here stands Snefru smiting a kneeling enemy (the "Mentu," or mountain people, according to Brugsch), whom he holds by the hair of the head. Saoora does the same. Cheops wears the badge of Upper and Lower Egypt.

We followed the inscriptions southward along the precipitous rock, gradually rising to a point some thirty feet higher than the first inscription. The list of Pharaohs who wrought these mines and recorded their names, some of them between four and five thousand years ago, begins with the third, and extends to the eighteenth dynasty. Of the third dynasty, we find Snefru apparently the founder of the works; of the fourth, Chufu (Cheops) and Chnum Chufu; of the fifth, Saoora, Raenooser (Userenra), Menkauhor, and Tatkara; of the sixth, Pepi and Neferkara; of the twelfth, Usertesin II. and Amenemha III.; and of the eighteenth, Queen Ramaka or Machaftra (Hasheps), co-ruler with Thothmes III. in the sixteenth year of their joint reign. There is a hiatus between the sixth and twelfth, and also between the twelfth and the eighteenth, and a cessation after Rameses II. of the nineteenth.¹ These records were

¹ I give the list from Brugseh's careful examination, assisted by Major Macdonald (*Wanderung*, p. 85). Ebers (pp. 138, 538) found two additional inscriptions, one of which, according to him, was made in the twentieth year of Rameses II. of the nineteenth dynasty. See also Birch's *History*, p. 90, who also adds (p. 67) Amenemha II.

all made, according to the more common opinion, before the Israelites passed through the wilderness; and, so far as the absence of inscriptions may be considered as evidence, the mining operations in this place were never resumed by the Egyptians.

The end of the inscriptions brought us to the entrance of the old mines. We entered one of them, a wide, high arch cut about seventy feet into the sandstone of the side hill, with smaller passages penetrating much farther, though now filled with *débris*. The long marks of ancient cutting-tools were still to be seen overhead and around. I saw two small stone troughs, about eighteen inches by ten, and in the narrow rock platform in front numerous small, round holes, which the Arabs said were for water, but which others have supposed to be moulds. I counted fifteen of them in the surface of one rock a few feet square. It seems to be as yet an unproved opinion that copper was found and excavated in this place. It was, however, clearly wrought as a turquoise mine, the same purpose for which Major Macdonald reopened it in 1845. The "mafkat" of the inscriptions which Lepsius at first supposed to be copper, Brugsch and Birch pronounce to be turquoise. This stone is still found here, although, as Major Macdonald learned to his cost, not in such quantity and quality now as to repay the expense of mining operations. The Arabs, I believe, still hunt for it in a small way. It was from this place very likely, or from Sarabit el Khadim, a few miles north, that the turquoise I had seen in Queen Aah-hotep's jewelry came. It occurs here in grains ranging from the minutest size up to that of three or four tenths of an inch, sprinkled (according to Fraas) in a brown oxide of iron, which is embedded in the sandstone.

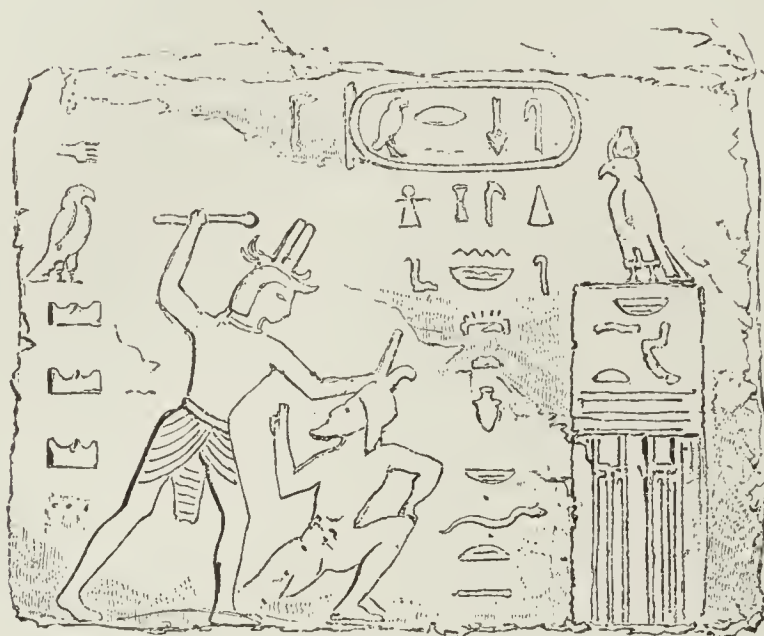
We descended from the mines, and crossed the valley to

ascend to the conical hill already mentioned. On beginning the ascent, we first reached a terrace, where outlines of the houses of the former workmen, some ten feet square, lay thickly crowded together. Here were abundant fragments of old pottery; and the Arabs officiously picked up specimens of poor turquoise and small pieces of iron-ore and, apparently, also copper. We continued the sharp ascent, and struck a path winding a little round the hill, within sixty or seventy feet of the top, where there were ruins of other habitations. The remaining part of the elevation seemed like a small hill placed upon a terrace. Our barometer gave the entire height of the whole elevation at two hundred and eighty feet.² In the centre of the area at the top was the outline of a small circular building, which could hardly have been anything but a watch-tower, having a magnificent range of vision down four different valleys—north, north-east, south-east, and south-west. On the north-west side we could trace the line of an embankment which once led across to the mines on the opposite side of the valley, as some conjecture, for a convenient pathway; others, for a defence. Similar traces are found of a connection between this hill and another lying a little east of south. Brugsch suggests that they may possibly have answered the purpose of a dam to retain the water that fell in these valleys. It should be mentioned, however, that there is a spring about a mile away (our Arabs said an hour and a half); and various ruins of large cisterns are said to have been found, some of them on the hill itself.³ Mr. Palmer also saw and described a carving which represented

² Murray's Guide (edition 1868) gives it at a thousand feet—a singular exaggeration.

³ Murray also mentions the remains of a very large reservoir up the valley, occupying its whole bed. We did not look for it.

“a group of miners at work, superintended by a soldier armed with a bow and arrow, and the workmen provided with a chisel of the ordinary pattern, and a kind of swivel



SNEFRU.



CHUFU—CHEOPS.

Tablets in Wady Maghâra.

hammer, which would seem to have been used by placing the heavy part upon the ground, and working it from the handle.” On our inquiring for this representation, we were assured it had been destroyed in mining; an assurance which

may have been a pleasant Arab fiction to save the trouble of climbing a difficult place, or it may have been true, since I heard two reports of blasting while here, and had seen lying among the *débris* near the mines a large stone with ancient inscriptions.

From the top of this hill was a splendid view of wild and savage mountain scenery. In a valley north-east, however, I counted, with my glass, nearly three hundred acacia-trees, showing what could be done in these valleys if care were taken of them. From the hill-top we descended to the eastern foot, where stands the forsaken stone house of Major Macdonald, with its out-buildings and watercourses for the winter torrents, and a comfortable path up the hill-side. Here for many years this singular man, a native of Scotland and a British cavalry officer, lived, surrounded by a troop of Arab retainers and workmen, dispensing generous hospitality to visitors—a hospitality enthusiastically described by Brugsch—until at last he returned to Egypt, and died a disappointed and ruined man. His turquoises proved to be of little commercial value as compared with the Persian stones. Indeed he informed Brugsch (who saw in his collection pieces as large as a pigeon's egg) that the turquoises which he had succeeded in finding unfortunately did not hold their color, but soon changed from "the finest sky-blue to a dull milk-blue."

Mr. Holland and Mr. Palmer both speak of finding traces of the smelting of copper in Wady Maghâra. A small fragment, apparently containing copper, was handed us by an Arab here. But it may be questioned whether appearances justify the belief that it was a principal work in this spot. Mr. Holland also mentions having found traces of the smelting of copper in wadies Shellâl, Nasb, Maghâra, Senned, and on the coast of the Gulf of Akaba, about thirty

miles north of Sherm, and also in Wady Gharandel.⁴ Mr. Palmer also mentions very definitely and circumstantially his examination, in company with Captain Wilson, of the copper mines near Jebel Habashi, in Wady Regaita, where he speaks of the considerable quantity of the ore in minute particles in the rock, as well as thin layers of sulphate of copper in a large dike, the neighboring hills being covered with pathways, and showing "numerous remains of smelting furnaces."⁵ It may be added, in this connection, that the iron which appears here in minute quantities occurs elsewhere in the peninsula. Dr. G. Werner found in the syenite at Mount Sinai small grains which he recognized as "magnetic iron."⁶ A specimen of igneous rock from Ain Hudherah was found to contain "much iron."⁷ And Jebel Hadid, visited by Mr. Palmer and Mr. Holland, ten miles south-east of Jebel Músa, "is so called from the quantity of iron ore which is found there in large dikes, often appearing above the surface of the ground."⁸

In Wady Nasb, a little to the north-west of Sarabit el Khadim, Rüppell found not only old Egyptian mines, great heaps of slag, and the ruins of many smelting furnaces, but also wedge-shaped openings in the sandstone, revealing great masses of black oxide of copper. In many places the metal-bearing mass appeared to be two hundred feet thick, and his analysis disclosed eighteen per cent. of copper and an equal amount of iron, with traces of arsenic. The ore is easily reduced, simply by heat.⁹ Of several

⁴ Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 424; Desert of the Exodus, p. 197.

⁵ Desert of the Exodus, p. 256.

⁶ Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*, p. 18, note.

⁷ Desert of the Exodus, p. 557.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 136. See also Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 424.

⁹ Rüppell, *Reisen*, pp. 265, 266.

specimens brought home by myself, one piece of furnace-slag from Wady Maghâra proved to contain, according to the report of a chemist, "a small amount of copper, considerable iron, some cobalt, and some manganese;" another piece of slag or ore from Sarabit el Khadim contained "copper in large quantity, considerable iron, some calcium, magnesium, and silica." A more exact analysis, by Professor Blanpied, of Dartmouth College, of a piece of slag from Wady Maghâra, showed but eight-tenths per cent. of copper and twenty-three and one-half per cent. of iron; and a piece of ore from Sarabit el Khadim exhibited thirty-one and eight-tenths per cent. of copper and twelve per cent. of iron, besides other substances. The last-mentioned contained small nodules of copper, which increased the percentage.

In leaving Wady Maghâra, one could not but admit that Mr. Macdonald found a home in a very wild and romantic place, but alas for neighbors! In the immediate vicinity of this valley we found numerous kinds of flowers, some of them quite fragrant. We gathered the seed of some of these, and of others later, hoping to reproduce them at home. But none of them, however well cared for, could be persuaded to grow. The sheikh brought me, as choice morsels, two or three clusters of large sorrel, which tasted very refreshing. Almost at no time were we out of sight of acacias. Usually a large part of their branches had been cut off, even when the tree itself had been spared. There would seem to be no good reason why these valleys, except in the most direct line of the violent winter torrents, might not be lined and filled with acacias, and then with a fair amount of vegetation. One is surprised to see how many kinds of shrubs can grow and what varieties of flowers manage to peep forth under the most adverse cir-

cumstances. And we were repeatedly struck by the fact that a large number of these desert herbs seem to make amends for their otherwise hard lot by being exceedingly fragrant. Some of them were peculiarly toothsome to the camels, and it was a favorite occupation with one or two of our Arabs—particularly with Hassan, the brightest and most friendly of our Arab attendants—to search out these savory morsels for his own camel.

As we proceeded on our way in the deep valleys, the thermometer marked one hundred and two degrees. About the same time we had a refreshing sight of Mount Serbal, capped and streaked with snow. We soon entered Wady Mukatteb, the “written” valley, so called on account of the numerous inscriptions in it, which are commonly known as “Sinaitic.” It is, however, now well known, and every observing traveller has occasion to see that these inscriptions are confined to no one locality, but are found in various parts of the peninsula. They occur in wadies Hamr, Solaf, Hebran, Sheikh, Sidder, at Nugb el Hawa, in Wady Leja, close by Jebel Músa, in wadies Aleyat and Nakheleh, at the foot of Mount Serbal, and near the top of Serbal, in wadies Khabar and Er Rimm, near Feiran, at Ain Hudherah, and other places. They are more conspicuous and more abundant in this valley than in most places. It was a great thoroughfare. Ebers counted more than a hundred inscriptions, most of them in groups, occurring quite frequently in the distance of three hours, and afterward at wider intervals. They are found mostly on the west side of the valleys. Almost at once, on entering this broad valley, our attention was attracted to the inscriptions which ran for some distance along the rocks on the side. Our lunching-place abounded in them; indeed, it was rather remarkable for them. They were inscribed sometimes on

the rock walls of the wady, but here mostly on detached masses of rock which had fallen from their original position. We had but to lift our eyes, as we partook of our



WADY MUKATTEB.

cold chicken and other palatable refreshments, to see the records of ancient loiterers who had availed themselves of the same convenient spot, and having satisfied their appetites with much less tempting fare, had expended their superfluous energy upon the rocks. A fallen rock just in front of our stone lunch-table was covered with these markings. The inscriptions are little more than heavy scratches, dotted, very likely, with a sharp stone. There are words written in letters from five to eight inches long, and rude figures of animals of varying dimensions. In this spot I saw five horses in one place, and one in another. There were figures of camels, with great triangular humps and awkward necks, and in one instance with a rider and a driv-

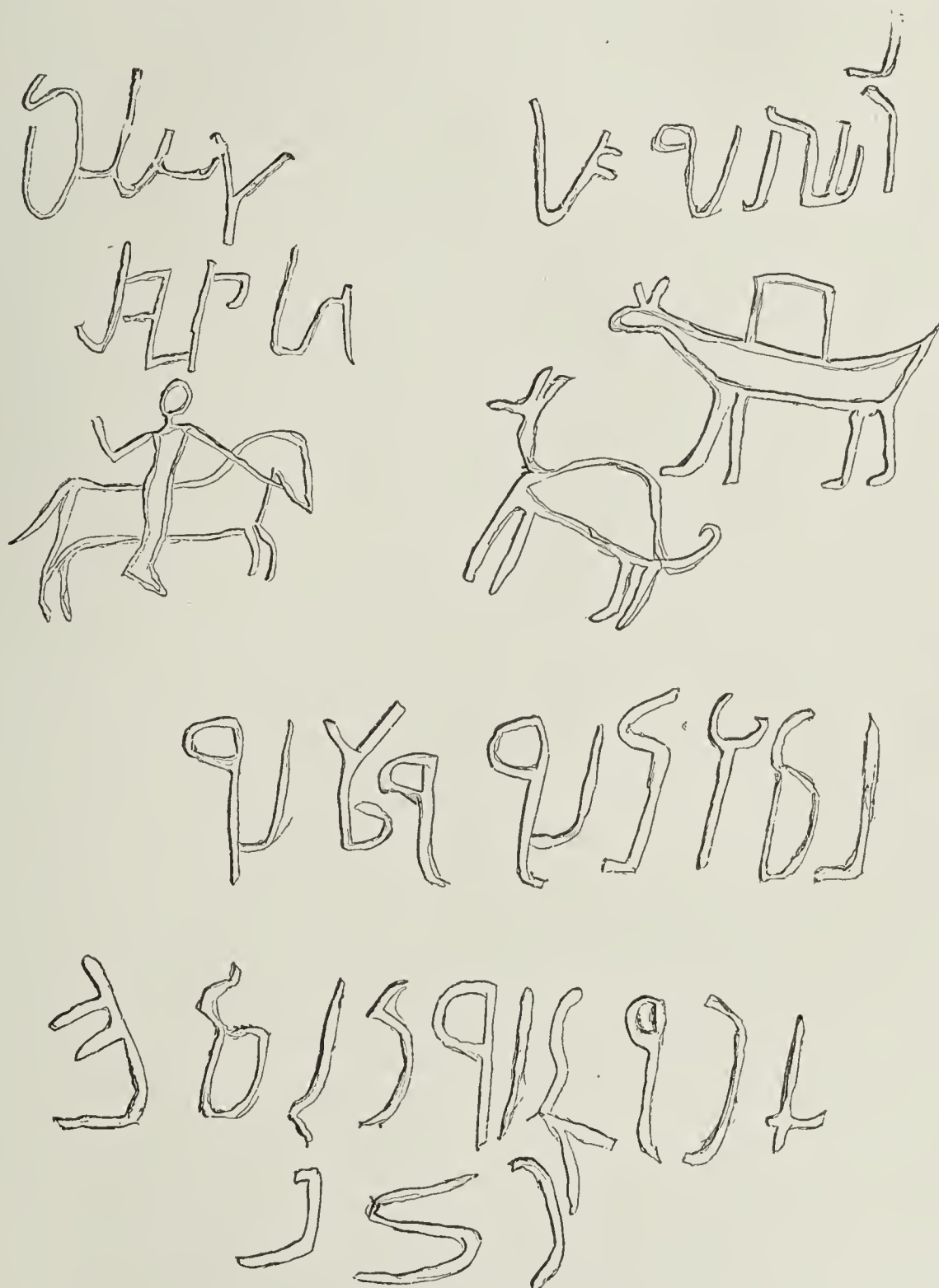
er, and still another man preceding and following. They were almost as rude sketches as any small boy first draws upon his slate. Gazelles sometimes occur, with ridiculous magnitude of horns. The inscriptions were near the ground, few, if any of them, being higher than a man could reach standing on the back of a camel; they are found mostly in convenient halting-places, and the stone is never artificially prepared for the inscriptions. The horses must have been drawn by persons not resident in the peninsula.

The mystery that once hung over these inscriptions is now partly dissipated. The favorite figures are camels, horses sometimes with riders or guides, gazelles, armed and unarmed men, stars, and crosses. Ships are said to occur,¹⁰ although they did not fall under my notice. Stanley speaks of ostriches. Ebers mentions the figure of a man clothed like a priest, with uplifted hands; a fish carved horizontally, and another obliquely, in Wady Feiran; and an animal that would pass equally well for a lion or a weasel. These are accompanied by inscriptions in letters differing from those of any known language. They are done, it is conceded, by different hands, and extend through some considerable range of time. The earliest mention of them goes back to the sixth century of the Christian era, when the monk Cosmas took them to be records left by the Israelites on the way to Sinai—a theory which has been earnestly but unwisely advocated in quite recent times.

The first steps in the line of discovery were taken by Professor Beer, of Leipzig, who determined the alphabet and the force of its several letters. The writing was found to read (contrary to Burckhardt's conjecture) from left to right; and the letters, while some of them resemble Phœni-

¹⁰ Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, p. 168.

cian characters, were supposed by him to be on the whole an independent alphabet. Other investigators, especially



SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS, WADY MUKATTEB.

Tuch and Levy, have followed up these researches, the latter being aided by the inscriptions on certain coins found in Petra. It was found that the character in these Sinaitic

inscriptions differs but little from that of the so-called Nabathæan alphabet used in the inscriptions of Idumæa. The language was ascertained to be an Aramæan dialect—a form of Semitic speech which in the earlier centuries of the Christian era occupied a place somewhat similar to that of the Arabic in later times, and which was evidently familiar in the peninsula and the adjacent regions. Beer called it Nabathæan; Tuch termed it Arabic, mixed with Aramæan; and Levy, Aramæan, largely influenced by the neighboring Arabs. They thus agree in regard to the general character of the language, differing only in the name they give it. Palmer copied twelve bilingual inscriptions, “written, both in Greek and Sinaitic, by one and the same hand.”

As to the date of the inscriptions and the character of the authors, there is some diversity of view. Beers supposed them to be not earlier than the fourth century. Tuch ascribed them to heathen, in the centuries preceding the spread of Christianity to the peninsula. Levy supposed the writers to be heathen, and the writings to have been made in the century before the Christian era and the centuries immediately subsequent, the latest of them coming down not later than the fourth century. Dean Stanley, from the numerous crosses which occur among them, concluded that they were for the most part Christian pilgrims. Mr. Palmer’s result, however, will be more generally accepted than either extreme view: “That many of the writers were Christians is proved by the number of Christian signs which they used; but it is equally clear, from internal evidence, that a large proportion of them were pagans.” This is apparently the conclusion of Tischendorf. He remarks forcibly: “To the Christian element must certainly be ascribed those crosses that actually have the Christian

form, as well as the monogrammatic cross." Tischendorf inclines to carry back the beginning of them a little earlier than does Levy, viz., to about the third century before Christ. He adds that, though the time of beginning may be a question, "the terminal point betrays itself on the rock in a peculiar mode: Christian names in Greek script begin to mingle with the Nabathæan, and these latter are sometimes written in Greek, and even at times in both languages together. About the end of the second century of the Christian era—in fact, when the power of the Nabathæans was broken by the Romans, or certainly at the commencement of the next century—the Christian name began to be heard around Sinai; persecuted Christians fled hither from Egypt to the wilderness asylum, where a hundred years later the Christian hermits already possessed one of their most flourishing residences; and indeed a Christian town was in existence."¹¹ He agrees with Tuch, that most of these names are memorials of pilgrims going up to heathen festivals in the peninsula. Palmer varies the theory with the supposition that they are connected with expeditions of traders and carriers who held public marts in the peninsula. Ebers adds the supposition that the Wady Mukatteb itself was a festival place for the inhabitants of the peninsula. As usual, it is easier to say what was not the exact origin of these inscriptions than what it was. The contents are very simple, and of little intrinsic importance. They are mostly names coupled with some memorial word or phrase: "May he be remembered;" "Remain in good remembrance;" "Peace be with him;" "Remain in blessing;" such and such a one. A singular contact of the Christian and pagan elements on the same rock is men-

¹¹ Aus dem Heiligen Lande, p. 4.

tioned by Tischendorf as occurring in one place in Wady Mukatteb: "There stand several Christian names, and particularly one 'Deacon Job.' But near by, and in manifest reference to these Christian names, stand the words, 'A bad company that; I, the soldier, wrote it with my hand.'"¹²

It is a singular experience to read in these profound solitudes such written memorials of a once considerable people, who had their enterprise as travellers, their festivals, their merry-makings, and their written language, but of whom every other token has completely perished.

From Wady Mukatteb, about 'an hour and forty minutes from the entrance, we rose over a rough rocky elevation, and descended into a considerable depression. Here we found our Arabs had sent some distance to the left, in a lateral wady which they called Macheira, for a supply of water. I had informed the dragoman that we should not proceed directly to the oasis in Feiran, but should delay a day or two on the way, and suggested that he should see to it that we had a good supply of water. The result was that they procured it here. As no traveller, so far as I was aware, had mentioned any well or fountain in this region, I took occasion two days later, on returning to the vicinity, to explore the place. Two of our number made an excursion hither from Wady Feiran. They found the place to be about fifty minutes' distant from the entrance to Wady Feiran. Here were a number of apparently natural cavities in the rock in the ascent of a gorge. They counted twenty-three of them, varying in size from that of a barrel up to several hogsheads. Four or five of these basins were cleared of sand and stones. In the uppermost basin the water had recently been standing six feet deep,

¹² Aus dem Heiligen Lande, p. 4.

although not much was now remaining. It was rain-water. We found it good, as well as cool. An Arab dug about a foot and a half in the sand, and the water came oozing in. The cavities were situated so that a copious rain would fill them all, and when filled they would contain a large amount of water. We afterward found water in a similar natural basin far down Wady Hebran, where it was pointed out to us by strange Arabs. Burckhardt, it will be remembered, mentions certain "natural reservoirs of rain-water" known to his Arabs and visited by them, half an hour south-east by south from the fountain of El Murkha, in Wady Dhafary. Stephens,¹³ when in distress for water, found it also in a similar reservoir somewhere between wadies Shellal and Feiran. These facts, and the indications of a dam and reservoir in the northern end of Wady Maghâra (previously mentioned), naturally suggest one possible source of ancient water-supply through these regions that has not yet been sufficiently investigated, namely, the collection and preservation of rain-water in artificial as well as natural reservoirs. Wellsted mentions that in going (January 9th) from Sherm to Sinai, not quite midway in the journey, at the entrance of a narrow valley leading out of Wady Seder, "our Arabs filled the water-sacks from a great natural reservoir in the rock. There were pointed out to us other reservoirs in the neighborhood, all of which were completely filled by the last rain." He adds: "It has caused not a little wonder that the vast multitude of the Israelites (six hundred thousand men, besides women, children, and servants), during their journey in the wilderness, should have found an adequate supply of water. But there are many such reservoirs. Moreover, in the rainy seasons

¹³ Stephens's Travels in Egypt, etc. i. 200.

the valleys are often stream-beds, and very commonly we find water in them at other seasons of the year, when we dig a few feet in the ground. I see, therefore, no reason why there should have been a lack of water. But the real difficulty is, that food should not have failed them, since the product of a whole year in the peninsula would, perhaps, not be adequate to supply such a number of persons for a single day; and I am in no condition to view this as other than a miracle."¹⁴ Dr. Benisch has argued this matter forcibly and at length.¹⁵ He shows that attention was evidently directed to this supply. He refers to the request of Moses (Numb. x. 29-32), that Hobab would accompany the host, "Forasmuch as thou knowest how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us *instead of eyes*," and the immediate statement that "the ark went before them in the three days' journey to search out a resting-place for them;" to the unequal times of halting; to the proposal made to Sihon (Deut. ii.) for "meat" and "water;" and the failure of the Moabites (xxiii. 4) to meet them "with bread and with water in the way." He calls attention to the transaction involved in Numbers xxi., where a well had been "digged." He finds the wilderness mentioned (Jer. ii. 6) as a land of "pits," for which he finds no adequate explanation except in reservoirs to collect water—pits similar to that in Palestine, of which mention is made in Genesis xxxvii. 22-24, and of which it is said, "Into this pit that is in the wilderness," and that "the pit was empty, there was no water in it"—showing what it was for. He connects with this the idea of partial concealment as by covering, possibly implied in Hagar's eyes being

¹⁴ Reise in Arabien, ii. 60, 61.

¹⁵ Bishop Colenso's *Objections to the Pentateuch Examined*, by Dr. A. Benisch, pp. 41-57.

opened (Gen. xxi. 19), "and she saw a well of water." A fact stated by Kalisch¹⁶ furnishes a still more definite quasi-historical basis. In speaking of the inhabitants of Petra who were of the Nabathæan race—kindred, therefore, with the men who left the Sinaitic inscriptions—that commentator relates that "in the most sterile part of the dreary desert they dug vast subterranean water-reservoirs with long narrow mouths, which could be easily stopped and concealed, while the interior gradually widened to the dimensions of a hundred feet square. Into these regions they marched at the approach of their enemies, who, excruciated by thirst, either suffered immense losses or hastened to return." To these facts may appropriately be added the numerous reservoirs which we afterward saw in going through the Negeb, or South Country, where dams had been thrown across the wadies, and the water even conveyed in stone aqueducts for purposes of irrigation; and also the somewhat numerous fountains and pools which, as it will appear in a subsequent chapter, not only form a series of watering-places at intervals around the whole edge of the desert, but occur occasionally in the wady-beds in the interior. In estimating, therefore, the water-supply for the Israelites in the Wilderness of Sinai, while, as I may show in passing, the present resources have been underestimated, and the probabilities or possibilities of the past overlooked, there is an additional field of inquiry still almost untouched, but suggested by the circumstances I have mentioned, as to what natural and artificial reservoirs may have been found and constructed under a great leader, by a people who had in Egypt been perfectly familiarized with the process of the artificial collection and preservation of

¹⁶ Commentary on Genesis xxv. 12-18.

water in reservoirs with embankments. It is an explanation and inquiry which, if requisite, cannot be objected to, and which would meet any supposed exigencies of the case.

That the idea of cisterns was no strange thing in Egypt appears from an Egyptian record that Rameses II. took care to supply the road to his gold-mines with water by means of a cistern, and another statement that Seti (his father) constructed a cistern one hundred and twenty elbow-lengths deep—which latter, however, failed to be filled with water, as others constructed in the same place by his predecessor had failed. Ebers, from whom I cite these statements, suggests the probable water-supply of Wady Maghâra as a reason for making it one of the halting-places, and he supposes it to be Dophka. At all events, the several facts we have cited sufficiently indicate the resources at the command of the Hebrews, and the almost certainty that they would fully have availed themselves of these on their marches, and especially in their more protracted stay in the wilderness.

From the point where these natural reservoirs were found (Wady Macheira), it was but forty or fifty minutes to Wady Feiran. We very soon reached a spot where a side track led up a declivity to the left; but the direct path entered a narrow rock ravine with perpendicular sides, where I had an adventure that might have been unpleasant. I rode in advance, and entered the fissure, which kept growing narrower, till at length the valises that were slung on each side of my camel began to strike the sides of the cliff. The camel showed signs of stopping; but as I saw a distinct path in advance, I urged him on. At length he halted, and I applied the riding-stick. He advanced a step or two, with the hateful growl of his species; and just as I began to feel the baggage rubbing closer against the rocks, and to medi-

tate a retreat, meanwhile giving him another punch with my pilgrim-staff, by some mysterious convolution which I cannot understand to this day, the long, ungainly creature, with one more prodigious growl, had in a twinkling twisted himself to the right-about-face, giving me a solid knock of the leg and shoulder against the rocks, and, with his head where his tail had been an instant before, was on his way at full trot out of the fissure. I was reminded of Numbers xxii. 25, but trusted that the resemblance failed in several particulars. I was thankful to have escaped without a more violent collision, and willingly climbed the higher and rougher path. In a few minutes we looked down into Feiran. As we descended to it by a long slope of more than twenty minutes, the top of Serbal appeared above its high cliffs to the south-east. The first noticeable objects that met the eye as we entered the wady were the trunks of palm-trees strewn along the valley, washed down by former floods. Having entered Feiran, instead of proceeding onward to Sinai, we turned down the wady one hour, and encamped.

CHAPTER XI.

WADIES FEIRAN AND HEBRAN, MOUNTS SERBAL AND SINAI.

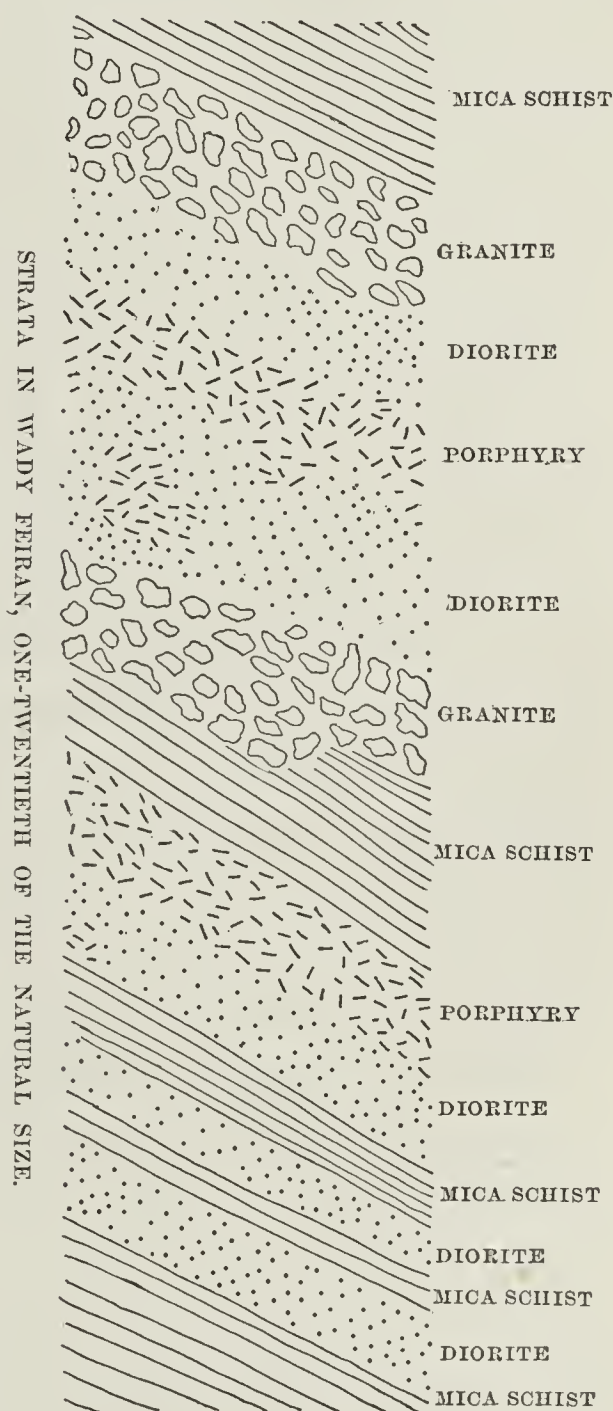
OUR camp was in Wady Feiran, one hour toward the sea from the entrance at Aboo Katteb. We desired to explore the valley to its mouth, and ascertain its fitness for the journey of a great and heavily laden host. The width here was about three-quarters of a mile. Just below us it was badly washed into very deep gullies two-thirds of its breadth, by torrents that had poured in from the side wadies on the south. At half-past seven o'clock (February 13th) we set off to trace the valley to the sea. It was much of the way from one to two miles broad, sometimes expanding still more widely, and occasionally narrowed down to the width of a half or a third of a mile. It was shut in between continuous ranges of high sandstone cliffs, the strata of which were for the most part horizontal, although near our camp they rose eastward at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and near the mouth of the wady in the opposite direction. The course, though more direct than usual, was still sufficiently zigzag—ten minutes south-west, seventy-five minutes west, then seventy minutes south-west, ten minutes west-south-west, fifteen minutes west, and finally twenty-five minutes west-south-west.

The bed of the valley was swept along some parts of its width by winter torrents, and occasionally by cross-streams from side wadies. Numerous dead palms lay strewn along. The land outside of the watercourses was more or less

sprinkled with tufts of desert shrubs. But in this part of our journey there was a singular absence of trees. I counted but six trees (acacias) in about eleven miles. This might be easily accounted for, not alone or chiefly by the power of the winter streams, but more, perhaps, by the commonness of the thoroughfare. We saw a few small birds.

After three hours of rapid riding, which we estimated in this instance at nearly eleven miles, we reached the end of the northern rock-wall of the valley, but the southern one extends some two miles farther toward the sea; and the wady, bounded for some distance on the north side by a high sand-bank which gradually fades out, extends onward as a widening depression to the sea. We rode fifty minutes from the end of the northern rock-wall, and estimated the entire distance

from it to the sea at five or six miles. The plain El Murkha sweeps north, unbroken and entirely level, to the point where we had entered and crossed it in going to Wady Shellal. We could, in fact, see the whole distance up to the encampment by the sea, and could see that there



was a perfectly practicable passage even for carriages all the way. This last fact was proved not merely by the camel-tracks entering Feiran from the north, which our Arabs assured us came from Wady Taiyibeh, but by the clear track of a wheel-carriage coming into the valley from the same direction. At first I could scarcely trust my eyes till I had measured in a dozen places, and found the two lines everywhere equidistant, and had furthermore inquired of the Arabs, who assured me that it was the track of a vehicle going to Tor. The way thither, it seems, enters here, and after passing up the valley some forty-five minutes, turns out of it southward at an opening which we noticed on our return. From the mouth of the valley to the place of our encampment a carriage could easily be driven, notwithstanding an occasional rough spot. The main difficulty of a journey to Sinai by this route would consist in the lack of water-supply, as the Arabs informed us that there was none between our camp and the northern end of Murkha, where we had passed into the mountains. We returned to our camp at night, well satisfied with the result of the day's observation.

Saturday (February 14th) we were under way at eight o'clock, soon passing the path to Wady Mukatteb, by which we had entered. A little farther along, at the point where Wady Nisreen, or Akir, joins Feiran, I counted more than seventy "nawamis," or mosquito-houses. They were the first we had seen, but we afterward encountered them in many places. The Arab tradition ascribes all this class of enclosures to the children of Israel, who built them as a shelter from the mosquitoes sent upon them in punishment for their sins. Many of those remains were particularly examined and described by Mr. Palmer, in his "Desert of the Exodus." He found two kinds of structures bearing the

name of "nawamis;" first, circular houses about two feet in diameter, built of unhewn stone, and covered with a carefully constructed dome-shaped roof, the top of which is closed by a large slab of stone; the entrance is by a low door about two feet wide. They exactly resemble the *bothan* (shielings, or bee-hive huts) of the Shetland Islands. The second, and seemingly more ancient, kind consists of large stone circles, some of them measuring a hundred feet in diameter, having a cist in the centre, covered with a heap of stones, the cist containing human bones. These, however, did not correspond exactly to either description. The bee-hive huts we saw elsewhere. These remains were stone circles about fifteen feet in diameter, with central cists, none of them now covered, and some of them dug out, measuring from four to five and a half feet long, by three or three and a half feet broad. Just beyond this point were sixteen acacias, and six more a little farther on. Indeed we were almost at no time out of sight of one or more of these trees. Tracks of gazelles were quite numerous, and the steps of a solitary donkey cheered us along, till, when we reached our night encampment, the first sound that welcomed us was his sonorous bray. As we proceeded, the valley grew much narrower and the cliffs higher, the strata often almost vertical, the colors more varied, but also more sombre; and the dark-brown rocks were streaked with seams of still darker shade. The harder seams and dikes often stood out like walls. I observed two groups of Sinaitic inscriptions. In one place there were two acacias, and in a side valley forty. The high cliffs became even more majestic in their barren grandeur, and the colors were red, brown, purple, dark-green, and in shadow almost black. Miss Martineau, with a lady's eye for colors, says of these Sinaitic rocks: "I noted them upon the spot as being black, green, crimson,

lilac, maroon, yellow, golden, and white." At length we turned a sharp corner and came in sight of the Hesy El Khattatin. Here, on the north side of the valley, at the foot of the cliff, was a large, almost cubical, mass of fallen granite, with a pile of small stones heaped up in front, some upon it, and some on the projections of its sides.

Mr. Palmer discovered a tradition connected with this rock, and the "pebbles placed upon every available stone" around, as follows: "When the children of Israel sat down by the miraculous stream and rested after their thirst was quenched, they amused themselves by throwing pebbles upon the surrounding pieces of rock. This has passed into a custom, which the Arabs of the present day keep up in memory of the event. It is supposed especially to propitiate Moses; and any one having a sick friend throws a pebble in his name, with the assurance of speedy relief."

We paused here and interrogated our Arabs, but, vexatiously enough, we could extract from them no such tradition. Finding all indirect methods fail, I at length asked them directly if it had any connection with Moses or with water, and they said "No." I pressed the inquiry that evening after we reached our camp, where several other Arabs were collected. But they knew nothing about Moses. The story that our Arabs gave us was that here lived a dervish, a magician and astrologer, a bad man, who knew everything, and who used his wonderful knowledge to rob and plunder other men; and that the Bedouin, as they pass, throw stones upon the rock in hatred of his memory. This same story was repeated by one of the Arabs at the camping-place.

Of course, I was disappointed. But I do not consider my failure as discrediting the positive information received by Mr. Palmer. He had a great advantage in his power to

converse freely and at large with the Arabs in their own tongue, whereas I was restricted by the necessary intervention of the dragoman. Furthermore, our Sheikh Selim was a comparatively young man, and not specially intelligent; nor did any of our Arabs appear to be persons of superior information in their line. The failure only proved these Arabs to be ignorant of such a tradition and provided with another.

Accepting the tradition as given to Mr. Palmer, I felt, and still feel, greatly the force of the considerations urged in favor of the supposition that the battle of Rephidim was somewhere in this vicinity. The lingering tradition well conforms to the more important considerations which would support this opinion. In view of the superior route, as well as the previous indication of the known camping-place "by the sea;" in consideration, also, of the important and remarkable oasis, it is difficult to believe that the Israelites could have failed to pass this way. Here too, if ever, was a prize worthy of a struggle by the Amalekites. If the latter nation were intending to attack the Israelites at all, it was high time. The object was worthy, the place was favorable, entangled as the Hebrews were in the mountains, shut off from a water-supply, and in case of defeat irrecoverably routed. It is difficult to imagine a more pressing set of inducements for the Amalekites. And it is equally difficult to understand what special object was to be served, as I afterward saw, by an encounter at Watiyeh, where Robinson and others find Rephidim. We can understand, too, the aggravated distress of the Israelites, who had come over a long waterless track, and were at this place within three or four miles of the flowing brook of Feiran, especially if we suppose, as the juxtaposition of the narration would seem to warrant, that the Amalekites had already inter-

posed between them and the longed-for fountain. I confess that these grave considerations exerted a powerful influence on my mind, both at the time and subsequently, as furnishing an adequate explanation of the whole transaction. The indications which are suggested as giving an appearance of extraordinary sanctity to one of the hills of Feiran (Tahuneh), and the late tradition that it was the place of Moses's prayer, may point to more ancient tradi-

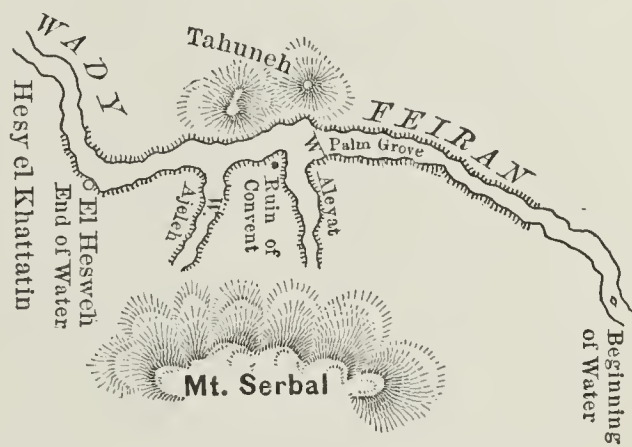


OASIS IN WADY FEIRAN.

tions. But we need not be bound by any theory which would make that hill certainly the very place of the prayer. Enough that the region here, just before arriving at the water in Wady Feiran, admirably harmonizes with all the circumstances attendant on the battle with the Amalekites and the previous miraculous supply of water from the rock.

From this place, which we are by no means constrained to believe marks the very spot of the miracle, but only per-

petuates the tradition that floats over the vicinity, we soon came in sight of the little oasis of El Hesweh, with its stream soon sinking into the sand, its palms, tamarisks, and sidr-trees. The water grew more copious as we followed it up, becoming a sweet little brook; and after a few windings we soon came in sight of the oasis of Feiran, "The Pearl of the Desert," which extends several miles up the valley. We passed near the foot of Tahuneh, which lay on the left, displaying conspicuously its ruined chapel perched on the top, and close by us on the right was Maharrad, with its ruins of a convent and church, one of whose carved capitals, lying in a row of rough stones, helped to form a water-channel by the way.



PLAN OF THE OASIS OF FEIRAN.

We crossed the swift, pure brook that hurried on its way, and we soon entered our tent, pitched in the shade of a lovely palm-grove, in full sight of Serbal, lying just south. We had risen, according to our barometer, some eighteen hundred feet from the mouth of Wady Feiran, twelve hundred and eighty feet of it during the day. Before dinner we had time to climb the hill Maharrad, once a kind of sacred acropolis of the episcopal city of Pharan. On its highest point were the long ruins of its ancient convent, consisting of sandstone and crude brick; and lower down, to the north, the ruins of its church and fragments of sandstone columns were scattered round. On the western slope of the hill were the remains of the buildings and walls of the old city. There were chambers or passages in the hill beneath these ruins, and over opposite, in the sides of Tahuneh, were

to be seen numerous holes, in which the hermits once burrowed or vegetated, when there were, it is said, six thousand of them gathered around this region.

Sunday (February 15th), opened bright and beautiful, in this secluded spot. Three kinds of birds were chirping and warbling around. The sides of the clear stream were here and there enlivened with various little grain-fields that were kept green by its waters, diverted in small channels. Palm-trees grew in abundance, half filling the valley. On every side high cliffs, rising from eight hundred to nine hundred feet, formed a precipitous circle of rich sombre hues, streaked here and there with seams of brighter color. The sharp peaks of Serbal closed the opening of Wady Aleyat toward the south. Flowers were scattered about in various spots; and as I walked along gathering them, the little stream glided and rippled by so purely over its rocky bed that it was impossible to resist the invitation to stoop down and "drink of the brook by the way and lift up the head."

After morning service and lunch, we climbed Jebel Tahuneh, which early in the Christian era was regarded as the place where Moses prayed when his hands were upheld by Aaron and Hur. The height, as indicated by the barometer, is seven hundred and fifty feet. Remains of several rude chapels mark the rugged way up, and on the top are the ruins of a more pretentious building. A double apse and fragments of sandstone columns were still to be seen. Antoninus Martyr (600 A.D.) affirms that a chapel stood upon the spot from which Moses viewed the battle. The place is, indeed, a sightly one. But it seemed to us much too near the probable position of the Amalekites—indeed, completely exposed to be cut off by their movements in the valley below; and it commanded too small a range of view down Wady Feiran in sight of the Israelitish host,

to answer well on any ordinary grounds of selection. We went thence to the hill west of it (Jebel Shiah), and found that this hill, which is seven hundred feet high, and projects farther into the valley that curves around its base, commanded a far greater range of view east and west—perhaps three times as great, besides being in much better communication with the Israelitish army. Several ruined buildings, some of them apparently chapels, were scattered on this hill, one of them at a very advanced spot toward the valley. The question occurred to us whether, after all, this might not be the hill of the tradition; or, if not, whether the monks had not taken the tradition that belonged to the place in a more general way, and attached it specially to Tahuneh as the higher eminence, although the difference in height is but fifty feet. The value of the tradition, whatever it may be, is not essentially affected by the consideration whether it has attached itself to precisely the right place. Nor did any questionings of the kind prevent our spending a delightful Sabbath in a romantic and charming seclusion, nor repress the strong persuasion that in this valley we were at least upon a camping-ground of the chosen people. The place gave additional significance to those portions of the Scriptures which formed the subject of our morning service. The whole day was a day of rest long to be remembered. On Monday morning (February 16th), at seven and a quarter o'clock, we were off for the summit of Mount Serbal. For nearly two hours we rode up Wady Aleyat. The wady contains a large number of acacias, some of them two feet in diameter at the bottom, which live and flourish in spite of the rocks that are swept against them by the winter torrents. We procured, on our return, a little gum-arabic from these trees for present use, although the Arabs had already made pretty thorough work.

At the upper end of the valley were a few palm-trees. The bed of the wady, through its whole length, is cut up and made almost impassable by the winter streams, and absolutely covered with boulder-stones of every size, strewn so thickly that not only would there be here no place for an encampment or a dozen tents, but no comfortable standing-place for any considerable body of people. We observed on some of the large boulders near the side of the valley inscriptions, indicating that the present general condition of the valley is of ancient date. At the end of two hours we left our camels, having then ascended ten hundred and fifty feet from our camp. Near this place were Sinaitic inscriptions containing figures of a dog, an ibex, a serpent, and camels. Inscriptions of this class occurred, indeed, at various points both before and after this, the last of these being within fifty feet of the summit of the mountain.

We were now near the foot of the principal one of the five distinct peaks of Serbal, the second from the west. We soon struck into a deep ravine, shut in between huge craggy rock-walls. There was not the slightest trace of a path, but our way was a continual climb over rough rocks and over a singularly precipitous ascent, where the hands were often as useful as the feet, and at times it was almost a going upon all-fours. The way was rendered more difficult by the snow, which made its appearance at the height of fifteen hundred feet above the camp, and lay sometimes a few inches deep, hard and icy, and in many places, where it was drifted or where the sun did not strike it, two and three feet deep. We were compelled to make many detours on account of the snow. Our steps were often jumps, and frequently we had to crawl cautiously over a high rock or ledge. Our dragoman was not ambitious to make the ascent, but remained with the lunch, far down in the ravine.



ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP OF MOUNT SERBAL.

1. Jebel Tahunch; 2. El Maharrad; 3. Jebel Abu Shiah; 4. Jebel el Muarras; 5. Summit of Serbal; 6. Jebel Moneijah.

A slow-moving Arab, our ostensible guide, went behind us most of the time, while a little fellow of twelve led the ascent, and skipped along like an ibex all the way. Straggling trees of four different kinds, one of them a peculiarly gnarled and matted species of acacia (*sont*, or *sunt*, corresponding, as many think, to the *senek*, the burning bush), occurred nearly all the way. Again and again I supposed we had seen the last one, but we continued to find them till within perhaps seventy-five feet of the summit. Several kinds of herbs continued through the whole distance, and even little birds were chirping more than half-way up. At the height of twenty-two hundred and fifty feet from camp was a small stream, which ran a few rods and sunk beneath the rocks. We at last emerged from the ravine into a more open ascent, which was made somewhat difficult by the frozen condition of the surface of the snow. We then passed to the rear of the mountain, and after winding almost round it we reached the base of a huge rounded and detached mass of reddish granite, up which we crawled, and found ourselves on the highest point of Mount Serbal. From the time we left our camels we had toiled incessantly for three hours and ten minutes, and we were all agreed that it was the severest climbing we had ever done. The British Ordnance Survey recorded a similar judgment.¹ I had been in a profuse perspiration almost from the beginning, and now found occasion for all my wraps, for the thermometer stood at thirty-seven degrees, and the wind was keen and rough. We stood at the height of six thousand seven hundred and thirty-four feet above the sea, about four thousand of which, as our barometer indicated, we had risen since leaving our camp that morning.

¹ F. W. Holland, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 410.

The view was wide, and in its kind superb—a vast mass of seamed, ragged, bare, party-colored mountains, intersected by a twisted maze of deep narrow valleys, that were sharply marked by their sand-colored beds. Its wildness seemed like a caprice of nature—a peep into some other world, almost as strange as the surface of the moon seen through a powerful telescope. It was such a scene as can be witnessed probably nowhere else but on this peninsula; and it well repaid the toil. Our starting-point at Suez was indicated by the clear peak of Jebel Atakah, south of which could be seen the long line of African mountains, and on this side the blue waters of the Red Sea. We could see where we had crossed the plain of El Murkha, the mouth of Wady Feiran, and south of that the long, unbroken plain of El Gaah, the palm-grove of Tor, the depression that forms the end of Wady Hebran. From Jebel Atakah eastward the eye ran along the range of Et Tih, the heights of Sarabit el Khadim, the sand-plain of Debbet er Ramleh, and apparently the mountains of Edom in the north-east, till it rested upon St. Catherine and Um Shomer, of the Sinai group, in the south-east. In the circle between lay wadies Feiran, Es Sheikh, Solaf, and a whole network of valleys twined round among this mass of dark-red mountains, rendered as distinct to the eye by their lighter beds as though they had been purposely colored on a map. The geography of the peninsula indeed lay here almost completely mapped out to the sight. It gave us valuable knowledge of some regions which we could not visit. Thus we could trace the whole coast-line as far as Tor, and see the entire practicality of a journey to the mouth of Wady Hebran.

In a crevice of the topmost rock we found a bottle containing the date and other circumstances of the Ordnance Survey, and another bottle containing the names of various

other persons who had made the ascent. We added our record to the number. With one final, lingering gaze over this grand panorama, which we were never to view again, we turned downward. We were glad to halt and warm ourselves by the fire which our Arabs had kindled at the foot of the great summit-rock, and then we began to scramble rapidly down. Occasionally we missed our foothold, and had some narrow escapes from severe bruises, if not from worse accidents. In one instance a friendly bed of snow engulfed me to my waist, and my stick went gliding and knocking down without an owner. Another of the company lost his balance on an icy place, and barely saved himself from a long and dangerous slide down the slippery rocks. The little Arab boy even badly bruised his bare leg, and the man cut his bare foot so as to track the way with spots of blood. But, without other noteworthy adventure, we reached our camp at a quarter before six, after a toilsome but thoroughly enjoyable day.

The next morning (February 17th) was devoted to further observations in the vicinity. I went to examine Wady Ajeleh, which runs from Wady Feiran toward Mount Serbal on the western side, and is nearly parallel to Wady Aleyat on the eastern. It is still less adapted than Aleyat for the purposes of an encampment, being smaller, more cut up with gullies, and as completely covered with boulders of every size. Should it be thought that the valley may formerly have been less encumbered in this mode, it may be replied that its situation must always have kept it in substantially the same condition. And moreover, as already mentioned, the large stones near the side of Wady Aleyat bearing Sinaitic inscriptions must have lain there, in all probability, not less than fourteen hundred years. The result of all my observations here was to satisfy me that Ser-

bal and its surroundings do not conform to the Scripture narrative of the transactions at Sinai.² It presents no convenient, nor even practicable, room for a great encampment, or for the assembling of a great body of people in sight of the peak, much less within "touching" distance of it, or where Moses would be within the ready reach of them, which the narrative implies. These considerations are so decisive as to render it unnecessary to accumulate other objections.

On taking a further survey of Jebel Tahuneh, its aspect as viewed from the convent was certainly very commanding; but, aside from all other considerations, the situation of Jebel Shiah appears much better adapted to the purpose for which Moses seems to have ascended the hill. I observed, also, that excepting the one considerable building at the top of Tahuneh, Jebel Shiah has as many evidences of veneration in the number of small buildings strung along its chief ridge, while it surpasses the other in the number of its hermits' holes. On the west side I counted as many as ten small buildings, and one or two of superior size and appearance.

Among the five or six kinds of birds that we saw here was a brown pigeon, a blackbird with white wings, and a sweet-singing brown bird like a thrush. The pigeon belongs to a genus of which Miss Martineau mentions that she saw "a good many,"³ and which are mentioned by Mr. Holland and other travellers, but of which Bishop Colenso courageously declared⁴ that "in the desert it would have been equally impossible for rich or poor to procure them;"

² The principal writers holding that Serbal is Sinai are Lepsius and Ebers.

³ Quoted by C. S. Drew, *Colenso's Examination Examined*, p. 66. The same writer mentions that on the Desert of Tih he saw "a flight of birds thousands in number."

⁴ Colenso, *The Pentateuch Examined*, p. 189.

thus *proving* that the laws concerning sacrifices could not have been written in the wilderness, but later, in Canaan.

In this oasis the eye is arrested not alone by the general grandeur and beauty of the scene, but, when it dwells upon the details, by the singular composition of all the surrounding cliffs. They are diversified with continually alternating veins of porphyry, granite, diorite, and mica, not to be matched, says Fraas, in any other part of the world. The same writer mentions, also, a fact which strongly strikes the notice of the traveller—how, in coming from the sea to Sinai by Feiran or Hebran, “every intermediate formation between the newest sea-deposit on the shore and the oldest crystalline mountains is absolutely wanting, and has always been wanting. Of later upheavals in palæozoic times, or in the second or third age of the world, there is not one indication. Rugged and steep, in undisturbed and restful majesty, from Serbal to Um Shomer, and from Um Shomer to Ras Mohammed, rises in vertical cliffs the primeval gneiss and granite, or, in mineralogical terms, the masses of colorless quartz, flesh-red felspar, greenish hornblende, and black mica. Never, from the time of their formation, have these crystalline masses mingled with any other geological period whatever; from the beginning of things have they thrust their heads out of the ocean untouched by Silurian or Devonian, by Dyas and Trias, by Jura and chalk. Only at the foot of the mountain fastness has the Red Sea, on the one side, drawn a wreath of corals about Mount Sinai, and with its help formed in modern times a coast; and on the other side has the sea in the cretaceous era spread out on the north the chalk plateau of Et Tih (four thousand feet above the sea), which extends over all Syria to Lebanon.”⁵

⁵ Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*, pp. 7, 8.

The same writer describes Mount Serbal as constituted in general of (1) a gray, fine gneiss, which forms its basis; (2) a magnificent red granite, with predominant red felspar and colorless quartz, extending from about three thousand feet above the sea-level to the top of Serbal; (3) traversing these masses of gneiss and granite, a diorite-porphry, including (*a*) a perfectly black diorite-porphry, (*b*) a dark-green diorite, (*c*) a dirty-red porphyry, with minute white crystals of albite, (*d*) a light-red porphyry with albite crystals and quartz grains, (*e*) brown-red to blood-red porphyry, (*f*) the same, separated by inch-long oligoclases.⁶

We passed reluctantly out of this attractive amphitheatre. The palm-trees and water continued for three-quarters of an hour, then for fifteen minutes succeeded a large number of tamarisks, the source of the modern "manna." The water, meanwhile, had disappeared. After passing the tamarisks, the valley became comparatively dreary. It was along here, I judge, that the great flood which Mr. Holland experienced in 1867 "washed away two miles of tamarisk-wood, which was situated above the palm-groves," and "swept down to the sea upward of a thousand palm-trees." As he lay encamped in Wady Feiran, a violent thunder-storm had burst upon this region. In an hour the water came pouring down from the valley above so fearfully that he ran for his life, and some forty Arabs were hurried away and destroyed by the torrent, which filled the whole valley eight or ten feet deep.⁷ Mr. Holland, in describing this occurrence, remarks on the increased liability to such destruction, just in proportion as the region had been already denuded of its trees and vegetation.⁸

⁶ Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*, pp. 8-10. ⁷ *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 425.

⁸ "In consequence of the mountainous character of the peninsula of Sinai, the destruction of the trees would have a much more serious effect than would

Beyond this place the mountains assumed a peculiar aspect, such as I had not previously observed. The color became dark-brown and gray, seamed with red and black almost as distinctly as with so many lines of red and black paint running down their sides. In about an hour and three-quarters from our camp we came to the end of Wady Feiran. Here Wady es Sheikh diverged on the left, reaching Sinai by a more circuitous but more level way, and on the right branched off Wady Solaf. Near the separation was a high passage in the rock, called El Buweib ("the gate"), through which we passed, and in a few minutes were in Wady Solaf, on the shorter route to Sinai. We soon met a company of a dozen Russians returning from a pilgrimage to the convent. Their appearance and equipment were not particularly attractive.

At one point in the valley the lower strata of rock looked wet, as though there were water which could readily be found by going below the surface. We encountered, during our afternoon's march in Wady Solaf of nearly two hours, very few trees; only five living acacias, and occasional retems, which here grow five or six feet high, but which we had seen in Feiran, and afterward saw in many places, ten or twelve feet in height. The comparative scarcity of trees along here may be due in part to the floods which sweep the wady, pouring down its high, precipitous sides with great and destructive force. I observed several trees in a row that lay prostrate and dead. Still it was surprising to see how, besides the desert herbs which

be the case in most countries. Formerly, when the mountain-sides were terraced, when garden-walls extended across the wadies, and the roots retained the moisture and broke the force of the water, the terrible floods that now occur and sweep everything before them were impossible." He had previously spoken of the evidences of a decrease of vegetation in the peninsula.

grow in those parts of the valley out of reach of the torrents, every little ravine, crevice, and seam on the side-cliffs had its vegetation. Clearly a large number of climbing animals, like sheep or goats, could find pasturage here. And the thought that was here suggested to my mind was afterward repeatedly confirmed by the sight of sheep and goats crawling up just such places, and feeding busily. Besides the desert perennial herbs, I observed that, although it was still but the end of winter, the surface of the wady above the torrent-beds was thickly dotted with germs of plants and grass, which a few weeks later must furnish sustenance for cattle. Indeed, we were obliged to bear in mind that, notwithstanding all the signs of vegetation which presented themselves along our journey, we were seeing the desert in its most desolate condition. Several of the regions that were almost bare when we passed had been seen and described by other travellers as covered with green herbage. We halted early for the night in Wady Solaf, near its point of connection with Wady Hebran, as we proposed on the next day to explore the latter valley, in order to judge of the question whether the Israelites would have been likely, as some have suggested, to pass down the sea-coast to the neighborhood of Tor, and move up Wady Hebran to Sinai.

February 18th we were in motion at five minutes before eight o'clock, to explore Wady Hebran. The maps indicated the distance from our camp to the mouth of the wady to be about thirteen miles. But the Arabs declared it to be a day's journey. We found that the truth lay between the two. From Wady Solaf, which is here half a mile wide, we struck directly south by a narrow opening into another small valley, which made half a dozen changes of direction in thirty minutes. Our path then left this valley and be-

gan a long, winding ascent, over a rough but open region, for another half-hour (the Nugb el Egaui of Lepsius), during which we passed a camel-track leading eastward to Sinai; then a collection of nawamis (bee-hive stone huts), some of them entire, even to the flat stone covering; then a rock with Sinaitic inscriptions; and then another collection of nawamis. We saw the track of a jackal, and of smaller animals of the size of squirrels. After reaching a height indicated by the barometer as five hundred and sixty feet above our camp, we commenced a long, winding, rough, and difficult descent, with a general south-easterly course. The track was frequently wide enough for but one camel. The passage over the rocks was, in repeated instances, by narrow cuts three or four feet deep, and once by a long, narrow passage, nearly twenty feet in depth. It had been cut or deepened by Abbas Pasha to make the route practicable. It took forty minutes to reach the bottom of the rough descent, which even in its improved condition would be impracticable for carriages, and in its original state would seem to be out of the question for such a company as the Israelites. Twenty-five minutes more brought us to a little trickling spring, in a deep gorge lying off from the camel-path. Though we were now in the entrance of Wady Hebran, the way continued to be rough for about forty minutes more, when we reached the point where the wady is joined by Wady Isthmid and turns nearly west. Over the whole southern slope that we had for some time been crossing, the vegetation was further advanced than I had seen it. The retem-bushes, perfectly sheeted with white and pinkish blossoms, were a beautiful sight. All along the wady to this point a good deal of vegetation was making its appearance. For a width often of fifty or sixty feet by the side of our path, there was a continuous strip of young grass just

peeping above ground, which in two or three weeks would furnish a large amount of pasturage. In many places below the same thing was true; but in general below this point the valley was more swept by torrents.

From the junction of the valley with Wady Isthmid appeared occasionally double lines of stone-wall, placed there when Abbas Pasha attempted to make a thoroughfare through the wady. They are for the most part in ruins. At noon we came to some tamarisks, and in a few minutes to two palms; then to small groups of palms, extending at intervals a mile and a half, chiefly in places where they were protected by projecting spurs of the cliffs, or by strong barriers of huge fallen rocks. We naturally looked for water; none was visible on the surface. But there were dead rushes and cat-tails in the vicinity, and in one place I thrust my stick into a hollow under a rock and found the soil moist. As it was now near one o'clock, and we must return to our camp, and as we had explored the questionable part of the route, we did not go farther in search of the spring or stream, which could not have been very far below. It has been often described by visitors. Lepsius found "a small piece of water, shaded by palm-trees." Wellsted found "a little rivulet," with some date-palms on its banks. Brugsch speaks of "the sweet-water brook, with its loud murmur," surrounded by palm-trees. Fraas calls it "a brook," which disappears after a drought. December 28th the water stood in pools, and January 5th it was a flowing brook, which, however, did not reach the end of the wady. Palmer calls it a perennial stream, which it probably is, except in very dry seasons.⁹

⁹ Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, p. 291. Wellsted, ii. 47. Brugsch, *Wanderung*, p. 31. Fraas, *Aus dem Orient*, p. 12. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 223.

As I was searching among the palm-trees at the end of our route for water, two strange Arabs came from below and halted to rest, and I inquired of them. They at first intimated that there was none here. But apparently supposing, on second thought, that I was suffering from thirst, one of them courteously left his companion and conducted me up a little gorge, where he showed me a small rock-basin full of rain-water. I took a draught, out of compliment to my guide. These two men were the only living beings that I remember to have seen in Wady Hebran, except one or two hawks and a few small birds. Wellsted, however, in a different season of the year (September) saw in Wady Hebran the web-footed and the common partridge, quails, pigeons, swallows, hawks, eagles, as well as a poisonous snake, which the Bedouin asserted to be deadly.¹⁰

Before turning back, we took such an observation of the way below as the enclosure of mountains would permit. The wady, which had been hitherto comparatively smooth and of moderate declivity, here began rapidly to descend and to grow rough. Our Arabs informed us that it was passable below, "neither very good nor very bad," and that it would take five hours to reach the end of it. As we invariably found that they gave us long distances when we were making, or about to make, an excursion, we naturally deducted something from their statement. The remainder of the way, however, was evidently an ordinary thoroughfare. We found that during our five hours' march we had first risen five hundred and sixty feet above the level of our camp, and then descended eleven hundred and thirty feet below that level. We had seen for ourselves that, in addition to the much greater distance from Wady Taiyibeh to

¹⁰ Reise, ii. 50, 51.

and through Wady Hebran, the route itself, after all the improvements of Abbas Pasha, is much more difficult, and almost, if not quite, impracticable for such a company as the Israelites; whereas Wady Feiran offers not only a much shorter, but on the whole a very easy, route through its whole extent. It is, therefore, difficult to suppose any motive which would induce a competent leader to take this road; and though it has found its advocates, it may be reasonably dismissed from consideration. Very likely the upper part of it, like many other wadies opening from the main route, may have afforded pasturage for a portion of the flocks.

On the morning of February 19th the thermometer at six and a half o'clock indicated thirty-two degrees, the lowest point which we had observed during our journey. Before noon, however, it rose in the sun to ninety-nine degrees, although the actual temperature in the shade was fifty-nine degrees. Quite near our camp was a collection of nawamis, some of them in good preservation. We set off, with our personal baggage and lunch arrangements, to go by the shorter and harder route, over Nugb Hawa (the "windy pass"), while the loaded camels should travel by Wady es Sheikh, some seven hours farther (as the Arabs said), to avoid the hard ascent on our way. We proceeded first by Wady Solaf, level and uninteresting, although the distant mountains looked like plumbago spotted with snow. After thirty-five minutes we shortened our route by taking a valley on the left (Tahesi), which we followed nearly an hour and a half, passing the tomb of Sheikh Abu Taleb, a group of nawamis, and a little cluster of Arab huts. On re-entering Solaf, the only noteworthy objects were a small hawk, some ravens, small birds, numerous lizards scudding about, the track of what the Arabs called "a lion" (possi-

bly a leopard), and other tracks, that looked like those of squirrels, but probably were not.

In three hours and a half from our start we turned somewhat abruptly to the right, and passing between sand-banks twelve feet high, we began to rise over a gradual slope toward Nugb Hawa. After passing a Bedouin cemetery, consisting of mere circles of stones, with one or two stones in the middle, in forty minutes we reached the foot of what proved a long and toilsome ascent. Here was a fine brooklet purling down the gorge at a little distance on our left, which, as we ascended, continually disappeared and reappeared among the rocks; sometimes, when completely out of sight, revealing its presence by its noise. In this way we tracked it upward an hour and twenty minutes. In one place a few small palms were growing; in two or three places, far up toward the source, little rills ran across our track to join the brook, and the camels stopped to drink. The source at length was indicated, at the top of the pass, by a small palm-tree, growing in a moist soil, and rushes. And when the Arabs dug two holes, six inches deep, they immediately filled with sweet water.

Meanwhile we were toiling up the rough and rocky pass of a huge mountain gorge, flanked by sombre, weather-beaten cliffs of dark red, occasionally seamed with other colors, and near a thousand feet high. The pass, though much longer, was scarcely more difficult than parts of that the day before from Hebran to Solaf. Our sheikh pressed us repeatedly to dismount, apparently under pretext of insecurity, but we declined. Some other travellers (Graul, for example) had thought best to proceed on foot. We wished to test the security of the pass. One of our camels twice lay down with his rider, and required vigorous measures, and uttered a deal of growling, before he would get up and

go on. We did not wonder that the loaded portion of the camels were sent round seven hours farther. The encumbered portion of the Israelites could hardly have climbed this pass, although their leader might. In two places I observed Sinaitic inscriptions. When we halted to lunch at the top of the steepest part of the pass, and close by the source of the little brook, we turned over a stone and found a scorpion of goodly size, but now motionless with cold.



JEBEL SERBAL.

From this place the ascent was much more gradual, though constant, till in another half-hour Jebel Músa came in sight at some distance on our left. After eighteen minutes more of ups and downs, we reached a stream rushing vigorously down into Wady T'lah. We soon crossed one source of it, which issued from near a palm-tree on our left, and we saw another source running from the rocks on our right. We still continued ascending a wide, smooth

slope, till in three-quarters of an hour more we stood on the water-shed and looked down the long, broad plain of Er Rahah upon the mountain rising sharply at the other end—the “mountain that could be touched.” The first thought was, what an admirable place for a great encampment; and in this respect what a contrast to any place in the immediate neighborhood of Serbal. High up on a distant peak to the right could be seen the residence formerly built by Abbas Pasha; before us, on the left of Jebel Músa, was the convent of St. Catherine; and on the right of the mountain the gardens of the former convents of St. Mary, and of Saints Peter and Paul. The surface of the valley was smooth; and, with the exception of scanty desert herbs, now entirely bare, although at a different season, Mr. Holland writes that he has seen it a vast green, “with blades of grass springing up in every direction over it.”¹¹

In the clear air of the desert the mountain seemed close at hand; but it took half an hour from the water-shed to reach the foot of Ras Sufsafeh, its northern peak, and ten minutes more to enter Wady ed Deir (the “Valley of the Convent”), where we passed the “Hill of Aaron” on the left. We observed that the convent gardens were badly washed, and a considerable part of them well-nigh ruined, by torrents that had descended from the mountain, prostrated the walls, and swept away the trees. We passed a little stream now running down the valley, and in a few minutes drew up at the convent walls, having ascended twenty-three hundred feet from our encampment. Two or three monks stood on a flat roof or terrace of the convent, watching our approach, and with scarcely a minute’s delay we entered through the little iron gate over the remnant of a snow-

¹¹ In Smith’s Dictionary of the Bible, American edition, iv. 3350.

drift, wound our way through a series of narrow passages into a small open court, then mounted a rude wooden stairway to the steward's room. Here we were ceremoniously received, and refreshed with some kind of conserve in small quantities, *araki* (which we did not care to drink), and more execrable French than often falls to the lot of man to hear. As our tents had not arrived, we were to spend the night here, and were shown to very comfortable rooms of fair size, provided with divans and cushions around the sides, a bed in one corner, a table, and a rude washstand. We afterward found good reason to suppose that these rooms contained more occupants than first appeared to the eye.

From the door of our room, which was opened out of a long gallery, we overlooked the irregular pile of buildings which forms the interior of the convent, among which are a church and a mosque in fraternal proximity. The Greek church dates back as far as the time of Theodosius, though the tradition not only carries it to Justinian, but claims Helena as the builder of one tower. The mosque is declared to have been a precautionary device, which saved the convent at the time when the Saracens made a general destruction of such establishments. The enclosing walls of the convent, forty or fifty feet high, were begun by Justinian when the empire was losing its hold on the East, and completed by Napoleon's general, Kléber. But the monastery was founded far earlier than Justinian. In the fourth century the region of Sinai was full of hermits: Eusebius refers to them early in the third century; and it is probable that the Egyptian and Syrian persecutions of the second century compelled them to find here a refuge. The place has venerable associations.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REGION OF THE LAW-GIVING.

THE morning of February 20th opened clear and bright, and just cool enough for a mountain climb. We had a long talk with the monks, endeavoring to make them comprehend and accept our plans. They seemed particularly desirous to prolong our stay at and in the convent, and wished us to delay our mountain excursion. The dragoman afterward complained bitterly of the exorbitant charges which they fastened upon him for the night's hospitality, for the supplies which he bought of them, and for guidance about the region of Sinai; and if his statements were true, he had some provocation to call them by some of the hard names which he bestowed on them liberally. Joseph was moved to call them "thieves."

At five minutes after nine o'clock we succeeded in getting off. Our guide was brother Nicholas of the convent, a stout good-natured fellow who spoke "pigeon-English." We emerged from the convent garden on the side next the mountain, soon entered a ravine that runs obliquely upward, and in twenty minutes reached the fine spring which Robinson names simply the "Mountain Spring," which the Arab tradition calls the "Fountain of Moses" (viz., where he watered Jethro's flock), which a monkish legend ascribes to the prayers of the holy abbot Sangarius in time of drought, and which our brother Nicholas named the "Fountain of Simeon." Traditions here are abundant and

cheap, and the last announcement was new to us. Thence nearly twenty minutes more we followed a little brook, caused by the melting snow, to the Chapel of the Virgin, a rude stone building twenty-five feet by twelve, immortalizing the alleged removal of the plague of fleas from the convent, performed by the Virgin, who appeared on this spot to the *œconomos* and gave the promise. Robinson, Bonar, Randall, and Palmer, however, severally testify that they did not reap the benefit of this deliverance when in the convent; and Brugsch narrates a still more melancholy tale of midnight suffering,¹ although the prior assured Ebers that he could confidently offer a piece of gold to every pilgrim who after a protracted abode would find a single tormentor.

The melting snow led us to inquire of Nicholas concerning the whole amount of rainfall. He informed us that it rains or snows perhaps twenty times in the year—sometimes, though not often, two or three days together. He said that on May 10th, 1872, a rain of two hours, accompanied with hail, swept the track through the garden-walls which we had observed in passing, and almost ruined the garden. This year there had been twice the usual amount of snow.

The path was moderately good, having been in many places improved; and we found the ascent much easier than that of Serbal, partly because of the much better way, and partly also by reason of the much shorter remaining distance. For the gradual rise of the journey had been such that from the convent there remained but 2340 feet to climb of the whole height (7363 feet) above the level of the sea. Soon after leaving the Chapel of the Virgin, and

¹ He alleges (*Wanderung*, p. 37) that the bed of his friend was shared one night by one young scorpion, three locusts, and thirty-eight bugs, by positive count.



ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP OF MOUNT SINAI.

1. Ras Sufsafeh ; 2. Chapel of Elijah ; 3. Summit of Jebel Músa ; 4. El Bustan ; 5. Convent ; 6. Hill of the Golden Calf ; 7. Jebel Moneijah ; 8. Jebel Ghubsheli ; 9. Jebel Sonā ; 10. Jebel Abu Madhi ; 11. Jebel Aribeh ; 12. Jebel es Salib ; 13. Jebel ed Deir ; 14. Ujreb el Mehd.

passing successively two gate-ways, we reached a plain where the most conspicuous object was a tall cypress-tree three feet in diameter—probably one of “two great trees” which Niebuhr saw here in 1762. Its fresh deep green was strikingly conspicuous in contrast with the red and gray bare rocks rising around. Very near to it is a well of pure water, and beyond it the enclosure of a ruined garden. A few rods farther, on the left, and where the ascent of the mountain is resumed, stands a low stone building (sixty-six feet by thirty-two). One end of this is the chapel of Elijah, in which a fissure or hole back of the altar, about the size of a man, is said by the monks to be the place where Elijah stayed (1 Kings xix. 8, 9). Another apartment, of which the roof was gone and one side of the wall ruined, is the chapel of Elisha. Our guide designated a third apartment as the chapel of Moses—another apparent improvement upon the ancient circle of monkish traditions. Thirty-five minutes more of vigorous climbing, making an hour and a half from the convent, brought us to the summit. On the highest point stands the rude building named the Chapel of Moses, and, a little below, a small mosque. Beneath the chapel is a hole, which the monks affirm to be the cleft in which Moses was hidden (Exod. xxxiii, 22) when the glory of the Lord passed by. I crawled into the hole and saw the rude hollow in the top of the rock which they call the print of Moses’s head, and another which is the print of his hand, into which the hand, with shut fingers, will fit after a sort. From the top of the chapel the view included the Red Sea on the west, and a thread of its blue waters (the Gulf of Akaba) extending along the east and south-east. Mounts Serbal and Um Shomer were not in sight; but it was because they were hidden by the towering mass of St. Catherine, the highest peak of the penin-

sula, and by Jebel Tineh; while in every direction lay vast piles of dark brown and red mountains, shooting up, rugged, bare, and solemn, from the twisted network of fawn-colored valleys. Seemingly close at our feet, far below, lay Wady Sebaiyeh.

We entered the chapel, and found various small paintings representing scenes of Christ's history. Among them was a baptism, in which he is represented, as in almost all paintings, from that oldest one of all in the catacomb of San Callisto at Rome, standing in the water, while John, on the bank, pours water upon his head.

After a long and delightful gaze over this strange scenery, seen through an atmosphere absolutely pure and perfect (at a temperature of sixty-five degrees), we gathered our specimens of Sinaitic rock, descended to the fountain of Elijah, lunched in the shade of the venerable cypress, and started for Ras Sufsafeh (the "Willow Peak"), at the northern end of the mountain, nearly two miles away. A considerable descent of eighteen minutes brought us to the chapel of John the Baptist, which brother Nicholas called the house of Gregory, where there was an enclosure containing four trees and a fountain fifteen or twenty feet deep, full of water. Twenty-five minutes later, after an ascent and a descent, we reached the chapel of the Holy Zone of the Virgin, and quite near it, in a depression of the mountain, the willow-tree which gives name to the peak above. All the way we had seen traces of the ibex, and found abundance of good water. From this point we climbed sharply up, and in fifteen minutes stood in the remarkable cleft of Ras Sufsafeh, where the whole great plain of Er Rahah lay spread out before us. The sides of the enclosing gorge rose in vertical walls, and we looked down almost perpendicularly to where the plain came up

snug to the foot of the mountain. A theory advanced by Dieterici, and favorably mentioned by Palmer, but not necessary, is, that Moses may have received the law on some other part of the mountain (perhaps at the point *Jebel Músa*), but that from this part of the mountain it was proclaimed to the people.² Two millions of persons, according to the actual computation of Captain Palmer, could have stood in sight of us from this cleft, and each have had a square yard of standing-room.³

From this point we mounted still higher, till for about thirty or forty feet we actually crawled by a difficult, if not dangerous, way up the sides of a great round rock to the peak. Here the view was somewhat more extensive, but hardly less striking. The proclamation of the law could have been made just as well from the cleft below as from the summit. Among the red and reddish-brown mountains all around, the tops of three seemed almost black.

Returning to the willow, we started to descend, not by the way we came, but by the gorge on the north-east side (*Sikket Shoéib*, or "Jethro's Path"), by which possibly Moses may have descended when he heard the sounds of the camp before he could see what was taking place there. We were completely shut in by the sides of the gorge till just as we emerged from it near the bottom. There was no sound below for us to hear, but we could readily accept Mr. Palmer's statement that, while descending here, he had distinctly heard the sounds of his own camp at the foot of the mountain, while entirely hidden from view. If the worship of the golden calf be supposed to have taken place anywhere in the neighborhood of the so-called "Hill of Aaron," this circumstance would be in striking conformity with the

² Kurtz's *History of the Old Covenant*, iii. 98. *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 114.

³ *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 117.

several other facts which singularly adapt this place to be the scene of the law-giving.

The passage by which we descended was of the steepest, the rocks often loose, and the descent hard. Between the almost perpendicular cliffs, sometimes singularly honey-combed, and along the course of a little rill, and with occasional stumblings and trippings, we made our way in safety to the plain in just fifty minutes after leaving the willow, and in an hour and a quarter from the top of Ras Sufsafeh. The latter point our barometer had indicated as six hundred and thirty feet lower than the peak of Jebel Músa.

Our tents we were glad to find pitched near the convent, between it and Jebel Músa.

February 21st we set out to examine Wady Sebaiyeh, which the monks hold to be the place of gathering the people to receive the law, a view which seems still to be supported by Graul, F. A. Strauss, and even by Tischen-dorf. Our way followed the road of Abbas Pasha, first rising about seven hundred feet, and then descending three hundred and fifty. On reaching Wady Sebaiyeh, we examined it from end to end. By pacing it, we found it to be about seven thousand feet in length, and in most parts from four to six hundred feet in breadth, though wider in some places. It was subsequently carefully measured with instruments by my son, Mr. Edwin J. Bartlett. Nearly the whole surface is thickly covered with sharp and rough stones, ranging from the size of hickory-nuts to the size of one's head, and larger. There was scarcely a good place for three tents together, or any good standing-place. While better than wadies Aleyat and Ajeleh at Mount Serbal, it is vastly inferior in this respect to Er Rahah, which is as smooth as a floor. It is also very greatly inferior to it in capacity. Its entire area, as determined by measurement, is but one hun-

dred and forty-five acres. Even if we add to this the surrounding slopes so far as available, it is not only vastly inferior in capacity to Er Rahah, but positively inadequate. Its insufficient size, when once known, would seem of itself to settle the question whether it was the plain of assembly for the proclamation of the law. I cannot learn that it had been carefully measured before, till the time of the Ordnance Survey; and this circumstance alone will account for the favorable opinion concerning it held by writers so judicious as Kurtz and Ritter upon the general statements of Graul and Strauss. It still further fails to meet the apparent condition of proximity to the foot of the mountain, so that the people could "stand at the nether part of the mount," and required that Moses "set bounds around the mount," lest "the people break through." For here Jebel Sebaiyeh, some eight hundred feet high, lies between the valley and Jebel Músa, so that there was no possibility of the people's coming at the mount without a previous process of hard climbing, or a very long walk around; whereas, Er Rahah comes up to the very foot of Ras Sufsafeh, on the north-eastern side. Furthermore, all the springs are on the other side of the mountain, and none in this valley, although its slope is so considerable (some two hundred feet by the barometer) that in times of rain it must be swept by the water, as appearances also indicate. The eastern point of Jebel Músa is, indeed, in full sight from every part of it (except immediately under the lee of Jebel Sebaiyeh); but, while in this respect it offers no advantage over Er Rahah, it is in every other respect vastly less conformed to the circumstances of the narration. On the whole, after taking subsequent careful views of Er Rahah, I could not for one moment hesitate to add my vote to that of Robinson, Stanley, Palmer, Holland, and the whole Ordnance Survey; and I

could appreciate the surprise with which Ebers walked Wady Sebaiyeh, and called it, rather strongly, "a rock-and-hill-abounding defile, in no wise fitted for a camping-ground." Strauss, however, supposes the camp to have been in Er Rahah and Es Sheikh, and the people to have been led out of the camp to Wady Sebaiyeh to receive the law. This hypothesis is not only a confession of the unfitness of the place for a camping-ground, but an overlooking of its unsuitableness for even a good standing-place, and its inadequate capacity. It involves, also, a circuitous march to reach a spot destitute of every recommendation, except its conformity to a monkish tradition. On the other hand, Mr. Holland briefly and truly sums up the description of Er Rahah thus: "The plain itself is upward of two miles long and half a mile broad, and slopes gradually downward from the water-shed on the north to the foot of Ras Sufsafeh. About three hundred yards from the actual base of the mountain there runs across the plain a low semi-circular mound, which forms a kind of natural theatre, while farther distant, on either side of the plain, the slopes of the enclosing mountain would afford seats to an almost unlimited number of spectators." He adds that "there is, near the mouth of Wady Leja [which opens into Er Rahah on the west], an extensive recess, about a mile and a half long by three-quarters broad, which would add largely to the camping-ground so situated."

Mr. Holland, who has been over the peninsula in every direction, remarks also that "there is no other district in the peninsula which affords such excellent pasturage" as the immediate neighborhood of Jebel Músa, "and that it would bear comparison with many mountain districts in Scotland with regard to its supply of water." He enumerates four streams of running water which are found there, and in

close proximity to each other, especially the first three: "One in Wady Leja [where, perhaps, the golden calf was thrown when ground to powder—it runs just at the foot of Jebel Sufsafeh]; a second, in Wady T'lah, which waters a succession of gardens extending more than three miles in length, and forms pools, in which I have often had a swim; a third rises to the north of the water-shed of the plain of Er Rahah, and runs westward into the Wady T'lah [the one which we crossed on our way]; and a fourth is formed by the drainage from the mountains of Um Alawy, to the east of Wady Sebaiyeh, and finds its way into that valley by a narrow ravine opposite Jebel ed Deir. In addition to these streams, there are numerous springs and wells, affording excellent water."⁴ Of these other fountains we had already seen three to-day—the Mountain Spring, the Fountain of Elijah, and the well at the chapel of John the Baptist, with other indications of water between these last two. On our return, Nicholas mentioned another large and constant spring on the mountain-side, back of the convent, a little north of what he called "Simeon's Spring," at a spot which he pointed out: whether the same beautiful fountain with the fig-tree, where the water issues directly from a hole in the granite cliff, which so impressed Fraas,⁵ and reminded him of the transaction in Exodus xvii. 6, his description of the locality is not definite enough to determine. Very near our tent, above the convent, was also a large reservoir cut in the rock, as brother Nicholas said, by Justinian. It was twenty-six feet square and thirty feet deep, but contained, when we measured it, only three feet of water, from which we conjectured that there must be some leak or outlet. Besides these may be mentioned, in this connection,

⁴ Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 412.

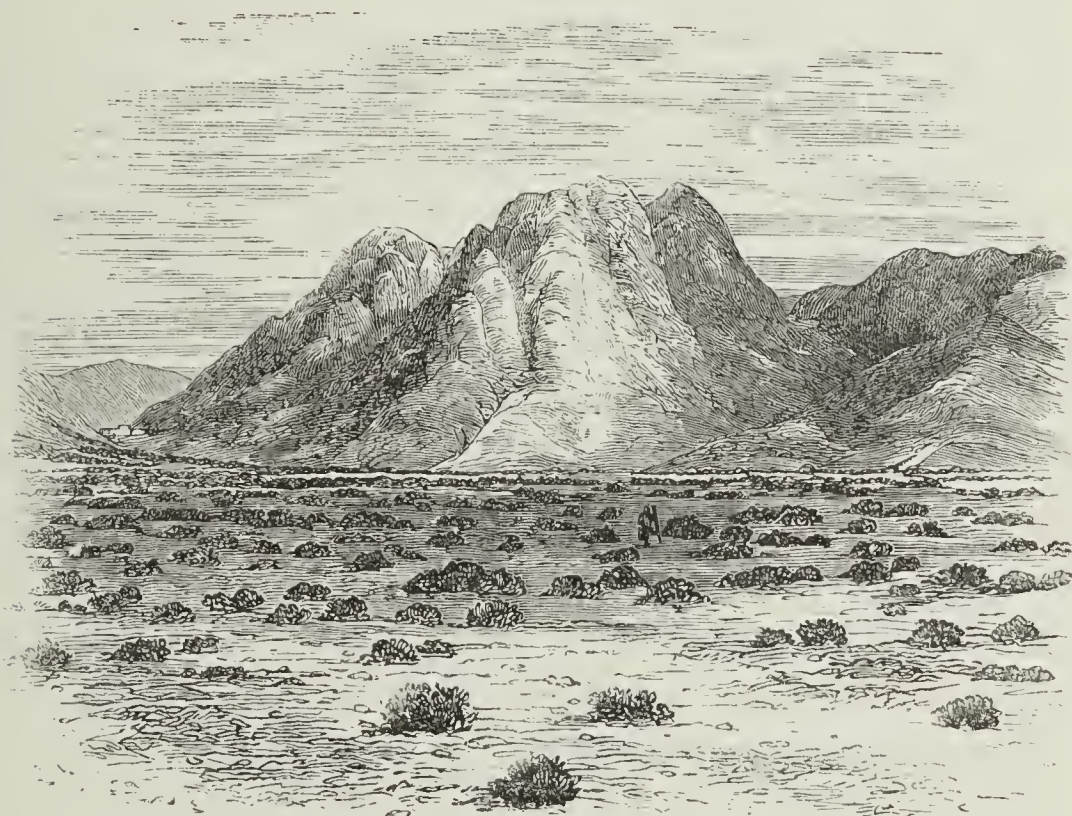
⁵ Aus dem Orient, p. 25.

the monks' Well of Moses, in the heart of the convent; another well, with a bucket, just below the convent garden; and the Well of Abbas Pasha, near the opening of Wady ed Deir. All these wells and fountains, besides four streams that fell under our observation in the vicinity, sufficiently indicate the very considerable water-supply of this immediate region.

In connection with the various indications which unite to suggest this as the probable scene of the law-giving, should not be forgotten an additional circumstance of contrast in Serbal. The latter mountain has no distinct individuality and clear isolation. It is a serrated, or rather dentated, mountain range, with several co-equal peaks, all extremely difficult of ascent, provided even a fitting place were found for the people near its base. Jebel Músa, or rather Sufsafeh, while affording this magnificent amphitheatre at its very foot, and while so facile of ascent, rises sharp, grand, and absolutely separate and solitary; a unique temple, not made with hands, fit resting-place for the glory of the sole Jehovah. "We inwardly recoil," says Fraas, "from seeking, in the wild, many-pointed rock-clefts of Serbal, the place where the teaching went forth from the one eternal God; with such a thought far better harmonizes the one majestic peak of Jebel Músa." The remark, bearing as it does upon the impressive meaning of the scene, is something more than poetry.

In the afternoon we started for Wady Leja, going down Wady ed Deir and round Ras Sufsafeh. As we passed the convent garden, the water was running in a little stream beneath its garden-walls, soon losing itself in the sand; probably a transient stream, due to the melting of the winter's snow or to the early rains. I observed that though nearly two-thirds of the large convent gardens seem to have been swept away by the storm two years previous, nothing

appeared to have been done to repair the damage. Everything in charge of these monks seems to relapse and go to ruin, and nothing to advance. Among the remaining trees were olive-trees, almond-trees in blossom, and at least one orange-tree well loaded with fruit. A little beyond the garden, by the way-side, as already mentioned, was a well, with a bucket and pole. At the old barracks of Abbas Pasha's soldiery, near the opening of Wady ed Deir into



RAS SUFSAFEH, THE NORTHERN END OF SINAI.

Wady er Rahah, we measured the well they had dug, and found it thirty-three feet deep, ten feet in diameter, and containing nine feet of water. It shows how water may be found in this region.

We rounded the point at the base of Ras Sufsafeh, and paused to look at a deep hollow in a rock along the way near this spot, which a very lively imagination may shape into the mould of a calf's head and neck, and which is accordingly designated the "Head of Aaron's Calf." The

"Hill of Aaron" lies on the opposite side of Wady ed Deir. Continuing our walk at the south side of Ras Sufsafeh, we crossed a little brook (which may have been the "water" of Exodus xxxii. 20) and passed the deserted garden of Bستان, with the ruined church of St. George lying between us and the mountain. The garden contained cypress and other trees, watered by a branch of the brook we had crossed. On the right, as we turned southward in Wady Leja, lay the ruined church of the twelve apostles, with a garden about it. Soon we passed another series of enclosures, which the guide said had been flourishing gardens, until a series of dry years killed everything. We continued to follow the brook, which we estimated ran ten barrels a minute, and passed four other gardens, or orchards, containing almond-trees in bloom, cypress, olive, and other trees. In one place we saw a very deep pool of water, twenty feet long. Next came the "Rock of Moses," a huge fallen, detached mass, with ten slight horizontal cracks, which looked somewhat as though water might have trickled through them, or might now, if there were any water to run, or any place from which it could run. Fraas describes it as "a fallen granite block, with a vein of porphyry and some druse openings." Nicholas did not repeat to us the old story that there were twelve of these openings, one for each of the twelve tribes; he probably observed us counting them, and finding, as Robinson had done before, only ten. We passed, also, two rocks with Sinaitic inscriptions. For three-quarters of an hour we followed up our little stream, which was at times a roaring brook, till we reached Arbain, or the convent of the "forty" martyrs, commemorating, probably, a massacre of the fourth century. Here were two large gardens, containing not less than five hundred olive-trees, with a few apricots and almonds, two lime-trees, and some others.

In the lower garden the water was running out of a pool about thirty feet in diameter, and five or six feet deep. In both gardens there were various reservoirs, or wells, in which we could see the water several feet below the surface. Cabbages, and a few other kitchen-herbs, were growing here. The whole aspect was that of neglect and desolation; but so vigorous a growth, under circumstances so adverse, was a proof of the real capacity of this seemingly desolate region. We went into the little church, which measured about twenty-two feet by sixteen within, in front of the chancel, and was a sufficiently dismal place. One window only lighted it, and that was a hole entering diagonally through the roof at the eaves, where the wall was several feet in thickness. Near the church outside hung the skin of a leopard recently killed. Here we were first offered some of the modern manna, the product of the tamarisk or tarfa tree, packed in small tin cases that held three or four ounces, and for which the Arabs asked two francs each. It corresponded to the usual description of travellers, having a sweetish taste, and the look of candied honey. It was hard in the winter, but subsequent warm weather liquefied it, although it has kept perfectly to the present time. It occurred to me, as I purchased such a case, that if the price were the remotest approximation even to the value of the labor in collecting it, such a source of supply as this would have made it rather costly living for the Israelites, at a time when some fourteen million homers (at least as many pounds) a week were required and produced for weeks, and apparently years, together. The theory once popular, and supported even by the great name of Ritter, which sought to find not only certain resemblances but an actual identity, between the natural supply of this substance and the manna which fed Israel forty years, has been too thoroughly demolished

by a large number of writers to require further refutation. Even Knobel, in summing up the case, concludes thus: "The narrator will thus certainly recount a miracle, and it is useless pains to assimilate his statement to natural history." Schubert mentions that the price it brings in Cairo is sixty Spanish dollars for the moga (four and two-thirds English pounds), and that the entire amount collected in the peninsula in the most productive years is hardly six hundred weight, and in other years scarcely a third of that amount.⁶

⁶ Reise, ii. 347. All attempts to explain the account of the manna as the narrative of a merely natural phenomenon may be considered as, in one way or another, effectually refuted. Knobel's statement is the acknowledgment of a sharp scholarly rationalist. Winer was obliged to consider the Biblical narrative a *distorted* account of a natural occurrence. Hengstenberg and Keil, who endeavor to find in the exudations of the tarfa a natural basis for the transaction, are obliged to admit an intensification of the powers of nature. Kalisch claims two kinds, one the tree-manna, the other air-manna. But while there are points of resemblance between the manna of the Biblical narrative and that of the tarfa-tree, Knobel, in his commentary on this passage, Kurtz (History of the Old Covenant, iii. 33, *et seq.*), and others, have exhaustively shown, on the other hand, the numerous points of difference and incompatibility. Accordingly, the great body of sober travellers (*e. g.*, Wellsted, Schubert, Robinson, Laborde, Stanley, and many others), together with such expositors as Knobel and Murphy, accept this incompatibility, while the forced explanations of Keil, Kalisch, and Lange tend to the same result. Knobel sums up the points of disagreement thus: The manna (1) comes with the cloud and dew from heaven (Exod. xvi. 4, 14; Numb. xi. 9); (2) falls in such enormous quantities as to supply every person of the great host with a homer a day [the modern product, says Stanley, would support but one man six months]; (3) yields every man exactly what he needs, neither more nor less; (4) falls only on six days out of seven, with a double portion on the sixth; (5) corrupts when kept from one work-day to another, but keeps perfectly over the seventh day; (6) is ground in mills and pounded in mortars, which cannot be done with the modern manna; (7) is boiled, and baked into cakes, for which the modern manna is wholly unsuitable. To which may be added, it was independent of particular localities and seasons, and continued steadily till the fortieth year; also, that the modern manna, as Schubert well remarks, "contains none of the substances necessary for the daily nourishment of the animal frame," being now used only for medicinal purposes. Stanley has given a condensed but effective statement of the case, Si-

Sunday, February 22d.—This morning, at eight o'clock, we went to the church in the convent. Services had been going on evidently for a considerable time. We witnessed



GATE OF THE CONVENT OF ST. CATHERINE.

them during the closing half-hour. They were conducted, of course, according to the ritual of the Greek Church. The officiating persons wore their hair long, like a woman's, and hanging down behind: one young man, who took a prominent part, in very showy attire, had his hair as much as

nai, p. 28. Lange's attempt to answer Knobel's sharp array of *facts* in part by assuming here a "symbolic language of the theocratic religion" and a "rich ideal light," and partly by the assumption of the mingling of other (farina-cious) elements with the manna in cooking, supported by no Scriptural hints even, is hardly worthy of such an expositor. See Lange on Exodus xvi. The transaction was clearly supernatural in substance, although we may freely admit that, like some of the miracles in Egypt, it offered to some extent a kind of outward conformity to certain natural phenomena of the region.

twenty inches long. There were chantings and responses, and some simultaneous utterances, the whole pervaded largely by a strong nasal quality, swinging of censers, processions, exhibitions of the cup, with crossings and bowings; many wax candles and many lamps hung burning from the ceiling. The church itself is highly decorated, and has numerous pictures, large and small, in which St. Catherine bears a prominent part. Many of its decorations and much of its furniture were now covered.

After breakfast brother Nicholas took us through the convent. One of the first objects was a very deep well of pure water, which is the "Moses's Well" of the monks, the place where he watered Jethro's flocks. We visited the refectory. The table was spread for twenty-eight monks. The food, which lay already on the plates, was mostly fish, with green herbs. It was the first Sunday of Lent, but the monks never eat flesh. By each plate stood a tin cup of what I then supposed to be wine, but I afterward observed the statement of the books that wine is strictly prohibited. Certain it is, however, that the "Sinai arrack," which does not appear to be prohibited, is stronger than wine. Attached to the wall of the refectory was a desk, from which during meal-time one monk reads to the rest, as they devote themselves in silence to their food.

We looked again through the venerable church, which dates probably from the middle of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century. It is a basilica, elaborately ornamented. The most remarkable object it contains is a very ancient mosaic in the chancel, representing the Saviour, with Moses and Elijah pointing to him, John kneeling at his feet, Peter lying overcome upon the ground, and James bending his knees, dazzled by the glory. Around them are prophets, apostles, and saints, each with his name inscribed

in Greek. Here, too, are pictures, called those of Justinian and Theodora. But other known representations of Justinian prove that this is not a portrait of him. By the altar is a chest containing the skull and hand of St. Catherine, the patron saint of the convent, martyred at Alexandria, and borne by angels to the top of Mount St. Catherine. The remains of the saint, however, are not to be seen.

Thence we were ushered into the chapel, which is to the Russian pilgrims the chief attraction of the place—the so-called “Chapel of the Burning Bush.” Here we of course followed the universal custom and requirement, to “put thy shoes from off thy feet.” The alleged place where stood the bush is occupied by a large silver plate, covered with carvings of various scenes in the life of Moses and Elijah. Costly lamps burned above, and the blue ceiling is spotted with golden stars.

The library is a small room, and contains a collection of books presenting, as a whole, a more antique appearance than any that I had hitherto seen. Here are about a thousand printed books, most of them sufficiently old, but of no special value, principally theological works, with a few classical authors. We saw, also, a large number of manuscripts, about five hundred, says Tischendorf, chiefly Greek, but also Syrian, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, none of them known to be of any special importance. They certainly are of no particular use; no one here reads them. Here, it will be remembered, was once deposited the celebrated Codex Sinaiticus, that barely escaped the flames to which these drones had abandoned a part of it, to be now a priceless accession to the critical apparatus of modern times.

When we had seen the library, we inquired for the archbishop's room. On arriving there we inquired for the two old manuscripts. After some little delay and seeming hesi-

tation, during which, if I rightly remember, the door was locked behind us, a key was produced from a locked closet, a monk disappeared into an inner room, and returned with two manuscripts. One of them contained the four gospels, that of John being first in order. It forms a bulky volume, with two columns on a page, written in a beautiful hand, almost as uniform as type, and throughout in golden uncial letters. The title-page is illuminated with pictures of Jesus, Mary, the four Evangelists, and Peter. The monks claim it to be fourteen hundred years old. A much better authority, Tischendorf, refers it to the eighth century. It is a rarely beautiful object. The other manuscript was a copy of the Psalms, so finely written that I could not read a letter. It has no value except as a curiosity. But since the visit of Tischendorf, and his famous discovery, the monks are as excessively careful as they were once careless of these manuscript treasures.

When we had seen the chief attractions inside the convent, Nicholas took us to the garden and into the charnel-house of the convent, where the former generations of religious idlers had entered into still closer quarters and more conspicuous inactivity. With a word of preparation for our olfactory nerves ("he got no good smell here") Nicholas led us down a stone staircase through a small ante-chamber, and thence into the presence of some thirty thousand skeletons, dried, dismembered, and packed away in the snuggest compass, like so many portions of old machinery taken to pieces and stacked away. It was purely a business operation. There was nothing about it of the artistic qualities of the Church of St. Ursula at Cologne, or the Capuchin Convent at Rome, where patellas effloresced into roses, and femurs and tibias in good sentences called out, "*Ora pro nobis.*" The spectator, looking at these eco-

nomically-stored relics of mortality, has nothing to prevent him from estimating in the purely mathematical method. The first room contains many cords of the leg and arm bones, and great stacks of the skulls of dead monks. An adjoining room contains remains of the *élite* of the convent. Here were fifteen boxes of bishops, a pile of dismembered priests measuring about fifteen feet by twelve by four, not including the skulls, which were piled at the other end of the room. Two Indian princes were honored by being not only left whole, but bound together by the iron chain that united them in life. One of them was still allowed a piece of his iron coat, more than he needed now. Iron neckbands and waistbands, scourges, and other choice ornaments hung on a post; and a famous old janitor, Stephen, who died three hundred or thirteen hundred years ago—for accounts differ, but it makes little difference to him—still sits in his robes and blue velvet cap, and grimly keeps watch near the door. The whole place is ghastly, but not solemn.

In the afternoon I went by myself down Wady ed Deir and up the plain of Er Rahah to the water-shed. The air was so clear that objects a mile distant seemed quite close at hand. This noble plain, over two miles long and half a mile wide, is almost perfectly smooth in its whole extent, with scattered tufts of desert herbage only; and it would be as difficult to find here a place that was unfit for a camp as in Sebaiyeh to find a spot that was fit. There could hardly be a more magnificent area for the purpose recorded in the Scriptures, all in full sight of and close contact with the sharply-defined and isolated peak at its foot, while surrounded by all facilities for pasturage and water-supply. It was an easy thing to surrender the mind and heart to all the historic associations of the ancient

scene. On my way I saw a young Arab driving five asses to water. They were in admirable condition, and bore emphatic testimony to the fattening facilities of the heart of the desert. An Arab girl mumbled something to me as she passed along, and hurried away.

Monday, February, 23d.—We rose at six, and succeeded with difficulty in starting at twenty minutes after eight. There was long confusion, loud and violent talking among the new Arabs, loading, unloading, and refusals to load, which our dragoman and his stout servant Ibrahim settled by peremptory and forcible measures—a push here, a pull there, a sharp word all round, and finally by adjusting the burdens and doing much of the work with their own hands. But the dragoman's greatest grief was when he paid the exorbitant charges of the convent. He consoled himself by making known his sorrows to us, and asking for an additional payment, anticipating the stipulations of the contract. We were glad to comfort him thus. We parted company with these cloistered worthies, carrying very little respect for them or their doings, except for the good-natured lay-brother, Nicholas, who had guided us around the convent and the mountain, and for the convent cobbler who had mended our shoes, sadly dilapidated by mountain climbing.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MYSTERIOUS ENCAMPMENT.

FROM Sinai we set out to see the region lying eastward, and more particularly the place where Mr. Palmer supposed that he had found Kibroth-Hattaavah. There are so few data for determining the exact and entire course of the Israelites after leaving Sinai, and so little prospect of being able to add anything to what is already known or conjectured, without more time and means than were at my disposal, that I preferred to turn my attention chiefly in other directions.

Proceeding northward from the convent down Wady ed Deir, we turned to the right into Wady es Sheikh, which we found, wherever it was not swept by occasional torrents, to be level and well sprinkled with shrubs. In about an hour we passed the mouth of Wady Sebaiyeh, where we saw a large flock of goats. In another hour we turned from Wady es Sheikh into Wady Mukhalifeh. Here was a large amount of herbage, and a still more abundant vegetation just springing from the surface of the ground. The dragoman, in reply to my inquiry, said that cattle will eat all these herbs, and thrive on them. At half-past eleven we left Wady Mukhalifeh, and crossed Wady Nukfh. It extended, apparently, two miles or more to the right, and three miles to the left, and required half an hour to cross it. The whole extent was covered with scattered vegetation, and the Arabs said there was a spring at the foot

of the mountain, southward. One of our number, who had been brought up on a farm, estimated that this valley would pasture a thousand cattle three months.

An ascent of five minutes brought us to Wady Hareineh, from which in ten minutes we entered Wady Milleh, where was considerable vegetation. After travelling twenty-six minutes in this wady, and forty-five in Wady Areb, we came to Wady Zuggerah, near where Wady Regaita enters it from the north. As the latter is the valley in the neighborhood of which Mr. Holland and Mr. Palmer discovered ancient copper-mines and traces of smelting, we spent a little time in looking around. In two places we found indications of long-continued fires, namely, an amount of alkaline earth that must have come from the consumption of great quantities of wood, and that, too, in a region now almost destitute of trees. Indeed, we saw less than a dozen trees during the whole day. We passed one small cluster of acacias, and afterward, toward night, some retembushes and a few ghurkhuds.

The mining excavations we did not hunt up. The Arabs could give us no information or aid whatever. We indeed climbed several of the neighboring heights, but thought it not expedient to prolong our stay for the purpose of finding places that had been sufficiently described by Mr. Palmer. "A large dike runs through the granite along the top of a low ridge of hills, and contains thin veins of the metal in a very pure form. The grain of the rock itself also contains a considerable quantity of the ore in minute particles, but the miners appear to have been ignorant of any method for crushing the stone, and to have contented themselves with picking out the thin layers of sulphate of copper from the dike. At the end of the ledge the ore has been worked out in a small cave; and in one place, where

the vein takes a dip, a shaft has been sunk to a considerable depth. The neighboring hills are covered with pathways in every direction; and numerous remains of smelting-furnaces, which may still be seen, show that mining operations were once carried on upon a very large scale in the vicinity.”¹ Mr. Holland describes, apparently, another mine, a little farther west, when he says, “The largest workings of copper I discovered in the granite near Wady Senned, about eight miles north-east of Jebel Músa. Here a vein of ore, which crops up to the surface, has been worked almost continuously for a distance of nearly two miles.” He adds, “I have found traces of the smelting of copper in Wady Shellal, Wady Nusb, Wady Maghâra, Wady Senned, and on the coast of the Gulf of Akaba, about three miles north of Sherm. Iron-ore was perhaps worked at Jebel Hadid (the ‘Iron Mountain’), about ten miles south-east of Jebel Músa. In Wady Gharandel, also, the slag from copper-smelting works has been found.”²

In Wady Zuggerah we passed a large quantity of small white flowers, all of the same species. Both flower and plant were favorite morsels for the camels, which continually dropped their heads to catch a mouthful as they plodded on. Numerous caper-plants hung out their bright green leaves from the rocks. Along most of the way in this wady the cliffs, sometimes a thousand feet high, shut down upon the valley bottom as sharply as the wall of a house meets the floor. The valley or ravine twisted this way and that, now thrusting out bold promontories of rock over our heads, now shutting us in with prodigious vertical walls, offering everywhere bare rugged slopes of inaccessible

¹ The Desert of the Exodus, p. 256.

² The Recovery of Jerusalem, pp. 423, 424.

steepness, and often cutting off all sight of our path before and behind, except for the shortest distances. The scenery was in its kind as wildly magnificent as any we had seen; and as the sun early disappeared behind these impregnable barriers, the sense of gloom and isolation came over us, till we caught ourselves almost ready to ask whether we had friends anywhere that thought of or cared for us, and, indeed, whether there were any outside world at all. This sense of utter loneliness, which was subsequently many times repeated, was deepened when we reached our tents, nestled solitarily under a rock wall, and found the Arabs in a state of entire ignorance and confusion as to the distance of our place of destination. The sheikh and his councillors informed us that it was still a day and a half to the place called Erweis el Ebeirig. I told them I knew it was not. They finally concluded that, by an early start and a change of route, we might get through in a day. It proved to be about six hours. We told them to be ready for the early start.

Tuesday, February 23d.—After an immense amount of Arab shouting, screaming, running, and dawdling, we got off at 7.45, only fifteen minutes later than the time appointed. We moved at first south-easterly, entering Wady Gefira in fifteen minutes. Here the Arabs said that water could be found two hours south. I saw one acacia. On the side of the valley was a flock of sheep and goats, the latter climbing high up the seemingly barren rocks, and eating busily where, at our distance, we could see no sign of vegetation. It was but one instance of what we observed afterward repeatedly.

We soon passed the mouth of Wady Senned, which is apparently distinct from Mr. Holland's valley of the same name; and in forty minutes from the time of starting we

entered Wady Khlaif, and turned almost due north, a course we continued to follow. At this point the most noteworthy object was a bird singing much like an American robin. The route here ascended rapidly for ten minutes, and then descended into Wady Gebát. Here the dikes along the mountain ranges became singularly numerous and conspicuous, and the contrast between the clay-colored wady and the reddish mountains was even more noticeable than usual. At 9.15 we crossed a large wady (Batourah or Matourah) containing a few acacias, and began again to ascend, passing a group of eight acacias at the beginning of the acclivity. The steady ascent continued for about an hour, culminating in a very severe pass of ten minutes (Nugb Gebát), and was followed by a still more rugged descent of five minutes on the other side. Still another ascent and descent brought us to a place where were scattered at intervals a few acacias, ghurkhuds, and retems, from which we could see Wady Sa'al. It appeared finely at a distance, apparently a mile in breadth, and covered with numerous acacias and very considerable vegetation. Its aspect was in marked and pleasant contrast to the general barrenness of the region through which we had travelled nearly all the morning. At 12.40 we reached this great wady, which runs nearly east and west.

Here we had no little difficulty in learning the direction of the place of which we were in search. At length we set off under the guidance of the noisiest and most disagreeable Arab in the company, soon leaving Wady Sa'al, and proceeding in a south-easterly direction. We first rose upon a considerable ridge running north and south, near the summit of which was a small hillock marked by a conspicuous stone-heap, and then made an abrupt descent over a rough ledge into a very singular plain. It was shut in

by high perpendicular cliffs, the sides of which were eaten away into curious figures that looked almost like artificial work, while here and there an island of rock with similar vertical sides stood out in the midst of the plain. Near the entrance were Sinaitic inscriptions. The plain was nearly a mile wide, and extended toward the south-east much farther than we explored it. Soon after entering we inquired for the stone circles which Mr. Palmer describes. But the Arabs knew nothing of them, and gave us over and over the same answer which W. H. Bartlett received when he inquired for the carvings in Wady Maghâra, which were almost over his head, "Ma fish" (there are none). Our chattering old guide sat down, and went no farther. We pushed on twenty minutes more, and were rewarded for our pains. We found at first several circular enclosures of large stones lying firmly in the earth, and portions of other circles that were more or less broken up. In one especially, that was composed of flat granite fragments of considerable size, the sides of many of the stones seemed to have been hollowed out by time with some uniformity of direction. These were in a higher part of the plain, near the cliffs, where the covering of sand was less and the exposure to winter streams greater. Farther on we found many others similarly situated; and on the open plain, where there were slight elevations of surface, the enclosures were very numerous, though often indistinct, time and the torrents having introduced some confusion among them. In crossing parts of the plain now covered with sand, we could discern the tops of the stones projecting through. Many of the enclosures were not more than two feet in diameter, as though for a fire, and in two of those which we examined we found charcoal beneath the stones in the centre. Others were four or five feet in diameter, still others as much as twelve feet.

Some of them were long and narrow. We examined only a region of perhaps half a mile square, but here they must have been originally very numerous. Mr. Palmer says they are found for miles around, and describes them as situated mostly on higher ground. His fuller account and theory are as follows:

“A little farther on, and upon the water-shed of Wady Hebeibeh, we came to some remains which, although they had hitherto escaped even a passing notice from previous travellers, proved to be among the most interesting in the country. The piece of elevated ground which forms this water-shed is called by the Arabs *Erweis el Ebeirig*, and is covered with small enclosures of stones. These are evidently the remains of a large encampment, but they differ essentially in their arrangement from any others which I have seen in Sinai or elsewhere in Arabia; and on the summit of a small hill on the right is an erection of stones, surmounted by a conspicuous white block of pyramidal shape. The remains extend for miles around; and on examining them more carefully during a second visit to the peninsula with Mr. Drake, we found our first impression fully confirmed, and collected abundant proof that this was in reality a deserted camp. The small stones which formerly served, as they do in the present day, for hearths, in many places still showed the action of fire; and on digging beneath the surface we found charcoal in great abundance. Here and there were larger enclosures, marking the encampment of some person more important than the rest, and just outside the camp were a number of stone-heaps which, from their shape and position, could be nothing else but graves. The site is a most commanding one, and is admirably suited for the assembling of a large concourse of people. Arab tradition declares these curious remains to be ‘the relics of a

large pilgrim or Hajj caravan, who in remote ages pitched their tents at this spot on their way to Ain Hudherah, and who soon afterward were lost in the Desert of the Tih, and never heard of again.' ”

His belief is that these enclosures mark the encampment of Israel, “exactly a day’s journey from Ain Hudherah” (supposed by very many to be Hazeroth), and that the graves outside the camp are the graves of lust at Kibroth-Hattaavah (Numb. xi. 33–35). His reasons it is proper to give in his own words: “First, they are said to have *tahu*—‘lost their way,’ the Arabic verb from which the name *Tih*, or ‘the Wilderness of the Wanderings,’ is derived. Secondly, they are described as a Hajj caravan. At the first glance this would seem an anachronism, as the word is employed exclusively by the Muslims, and applied to their own annual pilgrimage to Mecca. But this very term owes its origin to the Hebrew *Hagg*, which signifies ‘a festival,’ and is the identical word used in Exodus (x. 9) to express the ceremony which the children of Israel alleged as their reason for wishing to leave Egypt, namely, ‘to hold *a feast* unto the Lord’ in the wilderness. It could not apply to the Mohammedan Hajj caravan, for that has never passed this way, and would not under any circumstances find it necessary to go to Ain Hudherah. But the children of Israel did journey to Hazeroth, and the tradition is therefore valuable in determining the latter site, as well as their subsequent route on leaving the peninsula. The length of time which has elapsed since the events of the Exodus furnishes no argument against the probability of this conclusion, for there are other monuments in the country in even better preservation, and of a date indisputably far anterior. It is a curious fact, that if you ask twenty Arabs to relate to you one of their national legends, they will all do so in precise-

ly the same words, showing with what wonderful precision oral tradition is handed down from generation to generation among them.”³

These suggestions certainly deserve most respectful consideration, and the locality should be protractedly and thoroughly examined by some party that has plenty of time and means to do it maturely. Our examination was necessarily much more hasty than that of Palmer and Drake, who twice visited the place, the second time aided by discoveries made and the conjectures awakened on the first visit. We passed the same “small hill on the right,” with its “erection of rough stones.” The enclosures which we examined, however, were not those upon the high ground, but in a valley or plain below, where the completeness of the arrangement was less obvious on account of the silting in of sand in some places and the probable effect of winter streams in others. Accepting fully all their observations of fact, their conclusion must probably await further inquiries. The older Egyptian remains *prove* that there is not the slightest difficulty arising from the great lapse of time. The simple question is one of sufficient identification.

Now the coincidence of the name “Hajj” with the Hebrew *hagg* (festival) of Exodus x. 9, shows only the common origin of the words from the same Semitic root. In the use of a term so perfectly familiar to the Muslims, even though loosely employed in this instance, we cannot for a moment claim any connection with the specific transaction recorded in Exodus. It is simply a necessity or law of language: two kindred tongues employing the same word, common to both, to designate similar facts. The supposed “graves” require to be explored in order to know that their

³ The Desert of the Exodus, pp. 25, 27, *et seq.*

use was rightly conjectured; and if found to be graves, they might not be assumed to be graves of Israelites without some further indications.

We might not look for any kind of inscriptions, inasmuch as both the views and practice of the Israelites seem to have been averse to such records. But it is not altogether improbable that a series of works so extensive should somewhere contain some small relics accidentally or intentionally left behind, or some slight but distinctive marks of the nationality of the builders. If even the Indian scatters his arrow-heads and spear-points, we cannot safely assume that one or two millions of people, possessing so many of the appliances of art and civilization as did the Israelites, would even on their march spend "a whole month" (Numb. xi. 20) in one place, and leave absolutely no distinctive traces of their presence. It impressed me most forcibly, as I stood in this lonely and barren region, how singular it was that such extensive, and in their way elaborate, structures should have been made here. In the locality which I examined, the stones must have been gathered, transported, and arranged with an amount of labor which would imply more than a merely transient occupancy. Their wide extent and great numbers would almost as certainly imply a large number of persons; for successive smaller companies, in passing over the same region, would have had no occasion to construct new enclosures of the same kind in the same vicinity when they could simply use those already made.

As the children of Israel are generally supposed to have journeyed from Sinai by the great valley Wady Sa'al, and as this place is a day's journey from Ain Hudherah, somewhat commonly accepted as Hazeroth, both these circumstances favor the theory in question. The most plausible

rival theory would be that, as these works are very nearly on the direct way from Sinai to Akaba, they may have been constructed by the same Nabathæans who have so abundantly left their "Sinaitic inscriptions" among the mountains where, as some suppose, they held their "festivals," and whose marks, indeed, I saw at this place on the rocks near the water-shed from which we descended into the lower plain. An obvious objection to this view, however, is the number of people implied by structures that "extend for miles around," so out of all proportion to the extent of the inscriptions at any one place among the mountains. And if we should accept the supposition that this people resorted to the mountains to hold festivals, secular or religious, this view would fail to account for the vast number of stone circles at this point, or indeed anywhere.

It may be fairly said for Mr. Palmer's view that, besides some aspect of support from the tradition which he cites, it would also better account for the actual phenomenon in the case than any other that we can advance, or any facts that we know. It has something in its favor, and nothing really to compete with it. Still, in our absolute ignorance, what other transactions may have taken place here in the ages past, it is needful to be cautious. We cannot safely assume the absence of any other mode of accounting for these structures. And as the Israelites seem to have abode for a month at Kibroth-Hattaavah, it is reasonable that we should look for something of the nature of decisive *fact*, however slight, to form a connection between this locality and their encampment, before raising this conjecture into a positive belief. It certainly would strike one as singular, that while small colonies of Egyptian miners who lived here long before their day should have left records, some implements, and numerous other remains, and while companies

of wandering Idumæans long after them, should have made inscriptions so conspicuous and wide-spread, yet a great company of two millions of Hebrews should have spent a year on this peninsula and not left one written letter, nor one lost tool or trinket, to be found. The long occupancy by the monks at such places as the region of Serbal and Sinai would account for the obliteration of any slight traces of them there. But in an uninhabited region like this of Erweis el Ebeirig there should be found, it may not unreasonably be supposed, somewhere in the wide range covered by the ancient structures, some indication of the character of the occupants.

It is an interesting fact in connection with the place that two travellers have mentioned seeing immense flights of birds near this spot. Stanley writes that "in the evening and morning of our encampment immediately before reaching Wady Hudherah, the sky was literally darkened by the flight of innumerable birds, which proved to be the same large red-legged cranes, three feet high, with black-and-white wings, measuring seven feet from tip to tip, which we had seen in like numbers at the first cataract of the Nile.⁴ It was very near this place that Schubert writes:⁵ "Whole clouds of birds of passage, of such extent and thickness as I never saw before, flew in the distance and over us." He does not specify their kind; but the fact of such immense numbers of birds being guided across this place, probably by the relative situation of the region and the currents of wind, furnishes a noteworthy coincidence with the Scripture narrative of the vast body of quails which flew over the camp at Kibroth-Hattaavah. Mr. Drew also mentions in his journal (April 4th) that at a point just north of

⁴ Sinai and Palestine, p. 82.

⁵ Schubert, Reise, ii. 360.

the Tih (not definitely specified) he "saw a flight of birds thousands in number."⁶

Dean Stanley, indeed, half suggests the identification of the cranes (or white storks) which he saw with the quail (selav) of the Scriptures. But there is no good ground and no occasion for such an identification. The flesh of the crane is unfit for food. The quail is still found, at certain seasons, abundantly in the peninsula, and its Arabic name corresponds precisely to the Hebrew. There is also a singular correspondence between the habits of the bird and the facts recorded in Numbers. According to the Vulgate rendering (Numb. xi. 31), which is supported by Philo and Jonathan, and in modern times by Knobel, the "Speaker's Commentary," and others, the quails *flew* about two cubits above the ground. If this rendering be accepted, the first coincidence, as given by Tristram,⁷ is the fact that at all times its flight is very low, just skimming the surface of the ground, and, especially when fatigued, it keeps close, never soaring like the partridge and sand-grouse—a fact mentioned by Pliny (x. 23). Further, "it migrates in vast flocks;" it "flies mostly at night;" the flocks fly in spring and autumn; they proceed with the wind, never facing it; when they settle, "they are so utterly exhausted that they may be captured in any numbers by the hand." Mr. Tristram's further statements form so remarkable a comment upon the Scripture narrative that I give it in detail.

The quail "migrates in vast flocks, and regularly crosses the Arabian desert, flying for the most part by night. Being birds of weak flight, they instinctively select the shortest sea-passages, and avail themselves of every island as a

⁶ G. S. Drew's Examination of the Pentateuch, p. 66.

⁷ Tristram's Natural History of the Bible, pp. 231-233.

halting-place. Thus, in spring and autumn, they are slaughtered on Malta and many of the Greek islands, which they quit in a day or two. The period when they were brought to the camp of Israel was in spring, when on their northward migration from Africa. According to their well-known instinct, they would follow up the coast of the Red Sea till they came to its bifurcation by the Sinaitic peninsula, and then, with a favoring wind, would cross at the narrow part, resting near the shore before proceeding. Accordingly, we read that the wind brought them up from the sea, and that, keeping close to the ground, they fell thick as rain about the camp in the month of April, according to our calculation. Thus the miracle consisted in the supply being brought to the tents of Israel by the special guidance of the Lord in exact harmony with the known habits of the bird. The Israelites 'spread them out,' when they had taken them before they were sufficiently refreshed to escape, 'round about the camp,' to dry them and prepare them for food, exactly as Herodotus tells us the Egyptians were in the habit of doing, drying them in the sun. Again, it was at even that they began to arrive, and by the morning the whole flock had settled. Thus throughout the Mediterranean the quails arrive at night. I have myself seen the ground in Algeria, in the month of April, covered with quails for an extent of many acres at daybreak, where in the preceding afternoon there had not been one. They were so fatigued that they scarcely moved till almost trodden upon; and although hundreds were slaughtered, for days they did not leave the district till the wind veered, and they then suddenly ventured northward across the sea, leaving scarcely a straggler behind."

Burckhardt also mentions "a kind of partridge," which he supposed to be the quail of the Israelites, as occurring

in immense numbers in the mountains of "Kerak Belka, Dschebal, and Schera," in the Edomite territory, and northward, which "fly in masses so thick that the Arab boys often kill two or three at a single blow with a stick."⁸ Bonar also mentions that in the Sinaitic peninsula, near Wady Mukatteb, "flocks of pigeon-looking birds occasionally met us, which I am told are quails."⁹

If, therefore, this spot could be once confidently identified with Kibroth-Hattaavah, all the circumstances of the Scripture narrative would readily correspond and concur. But we lack as yet some closer bond of connection, such as would be furnished by the simplest definite fact.

⁸ Burckhardt, *Reisen*, p. 681.

⁹ Bonar, *The Desert of Sinai*, p. 178.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NORTHERN ROUTE, BY SARABIT EL KHADIM.

AFTER visiting the remains at Erweis el Ebeirig, we returned to our halting-place in Wady Sa'al, and moved one hour westward down the valley toward Wady es Sheikh and Sinai, as my object was to see the different routes and portions of routes conjecturally attributed to the Israelites, and thus judge for myself between them. We found ourselves entering at once among a great number of acacia-trees, spread over the whole breadth of the wide valley. Many of them were very large—twenty inches, and even two feet or more, in diameter. Among them must be the tree, although we did not take the time to search it out, which Mr. Holland found by measurement to be nine feet in circumference.¹ All of them, except here and there one, had a large part of their branches cut off, as the Arabs said, for the camels in winter. A well-grown acacia is a fine-looking tree when seen at a distance, somewhat resembling a large and thrifty apple-tree with the branches spreading horizontally. I had now had an opportunity to see how conspicuously the one kind of tree that is found in all parts of the peninsula, growing to any considerable size and furnishing a solid wood for timber, is the acacia. It is the one kind of wood specified in the Pentateuch for use in the wilderness—for the ark, the tabernacle, the staves, the altar—

¹ Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, iv. 3650.

“shittim-wood,” or acacia. And although one traveller (D. K. Randall), who had seen only the smaller and more stunted specimens that are to be found between Suez and Sinai, wonders where the acacia-trees are to be found large enough to make a board or plank ten cubits long and a cubit and a half wide (Exod. xxvi. 16), he would have seen very readily if he had visited Wady Sa'al.²

The next day (February 25th) I saw three kinds of small birds around us as we started, and two ravens at a little distance. A camel was busily engaged in eating off the thorny branches of an acacia near the tips. The valley continued broad, and enclosed by lower lines of hills than during the previous days, and much of our way was through a comparatively open region. Acacias continued as long as we were in this wady; not, indeed, so numerous as on the preceding day, but always in sight. I saw many stumps where the Arabs had burned down the trees. Later in the day, after we left this wady, they became much more scarce.

During the forenoon an ibex ran across our path and disappeared up the ledge of rocks, amid great shouting, running, and general confusion of the Arabs. There was some show of bringing one of their unserviceable guns to bear upon him, but long before it could be done the fleet little fellow was safe and out of sight. There were also sand-colored swallows on the way, such as we had seen the day before at Erweis el Ebeirig. After some three hours and a half, we left Wady Sa'al and entered Wady Latshen, and in another hour we emerged into a series of small plains, surrounded by low hills, and covered at intervals with desert shrubs, but nearly destitute of trees. Here we came in sight of Jebel Músa, which for a considerable time appeared

² Says Mr. Randall: “There are certainly no trees now in this region from which boards of this size could be cut.” A hazardous “certainty.”

and disappeared. Jebel Catherina was also to be seen, well sheeted in snow. Just as we reached our lunching-place, a hare scampered across the path and disappeared, quite regardless of a revolver-ball that whistled after him. We afterward saw others of these animals, but only one at a time, although Burckhardt records (p. 726) that in the western part of Et Tih, one day, he "came through several valleys, in which he scared up a multitude of hares." Here we waited a long time for our baggage-camels, which had become unusually slow for want of a proper supply of grain. The sheikh had turned off on some side-track to make a purchase.

For three days we had seen no human being but the members of our own company. Passing thus day after day among these secluded and sombre valleys, the thought came over me with ever-increasing force, What a grand situation was this region for the ancient people to be trained and taught of God! what a shutting off from all they had left behind, as well as from all the outer world! and what a shutting up to the Law and the Law-giver, in this vast, unbroken solitude! To a European, it is quite another world. The scenery, mode of life, method of travel, companionship, manners, speech, are all in the strongest possible contrast to everything at home, and the life seems a weird and phantom life.

Three hours from the time of leaving Wady Sa'al, the last two through sloping plains like those of the morning, we turned north into Wady es Sheikh, and in five minutes came to the pass of Watiyeh, where Robinson, Holland, and others find Rephidim. Here is a dark, narrow passage between very lofty cliffs, which within a very short distance bend the valley almost into a complete semicircle. Near the northern end of the pass on the eastern side, just at the turn, stands a

large granite rock, with seat-like depressions on its sides, and nearly half-way up a flat surface like the bottom of a chair, which is called by the Arabs "the seat of the prophet Moses." The spot would be admirable as a place of defence, if one could comprehend what reason the Amalekites could have for a fight here, and were there other concurrent circumstances to fix the spot. The mere name "Moses's Seat," applied to a rock, not on a hill in accordance with the Scripture narrative, but by the way-side in the bottom of a ravine, can carry little weight toward identifying a place. On the other hand, there was at Wady Feiran, besides the traditional reasons, a weighty object of contest in the fertile valley and its water-supply. There was also to be a test struggle whether or not the Hebrews should enter on the territory of the Amalekites. And after the long waterless march the time and place were as discouraging to Israel as they were stimulating to Amalek. As between this place and the spot before reaching the oasis of Feiran, I could hardly hesitate to add my opinion to that of the Ordnance Survey in favor of the latter.

Just before entering the pass at Watiyeh we saw a flock of goats high on the rocks, under the charge of an Arab girl, where they seemed to find something to eat that we could not see. We halted for the night at the northern end of the pass, to accommodate our sheikh, who wished to procure water from a well situated an hour to the south-west.

February 26th.—Though we had set out to return by the northern route from Suez as far as the point of separation at Wady Hamr, our night's encampment had been in a place common to both routes. For even if the approach to Sinai was made by the southern one, the mass of the people and the loaded animals must have taken this longer and level track through Wady es Sheikh, by which our own

loaded camels had come when we climbed Nugb Hawa. The Israelitish leaders might have taken the shorter and harder way, by which we went.

Soon after leaving our encampment (at 7.45 A.M.), we came for fifty minutes through a grove of tamarisks, some of which were more than twenty inches in diameter, and larger than any we had observed. They stood along a watercourse, which, though now dry, had left on the trees marks of the stream. The soil beneath the trees, perhaps because of the shade they furnished, looked moist in spots; and we saw two places where charcoal had recently been burned. The camels greedily ate the tips of the trees as we rode by. At 9.50 we passed a dozen black goat's-hair Arab tents, surrounded by piles of shrubs and brushwood. Twenty minutes later we were told that there was water to be had an hour southward. Wady es Sheikh, in which we continued to travel till twelve o'clock, is a broad valley skirted by low ranges of hills, containing very few trees, except the tamarisk-grove already mentioned, but presenting the usual desert herbs. At five minutes past noon we turned north from Wady es Sheikh, and after ascending and descending a considerable pass, we entered Wady Senef, and in an hour and twenty minutes we crossed Wady Oesch, which Knobel, from a supposed resemblance of names, would identify with the Alush of the Scriptures.

In Wady Oesch is a supply of sweet water, mentioned by Robinson³ and Burckhardt,⁴ and visited by Russegger,⁵ who found it in the rock clefts. Burckhardt calls it a "well," and takes occasion to speak of the excellence of the water from this point to Sinai—a commendation in which every traveller can concur. Fifteen minutes beyond Wady Oesch

³ Researches, i. 125.

⁴ Reisen, p. 795.

⁵ Ib. p. 31.

we entered Wady Berrah, a broad valley enclosed by porphyry and granite cliffs. At numerous good resting-places we saw Sinaitic inscriptions and a few crosses on the rocks, and in one place we passed some cairns, which, according to a statement in Murray (from Stewart's Tent and Khan), are called by the Arabs "the graves of the Jews." I do not know that this statement is confirmed. In fifty-five minutes we passed Wady Retamah, where our Arabs said there was water quite near, and where Robinson's Arabs procured "good water" from a spring. In another hour we entered Wady Lebweh, and soon halted for the night. It was chilly, the thermometer standing at forty-two degrees. After the tents were pitched, we followed the example of the Arabs, and built a fire of the neighboring shrubs. We put on a quantity of retem, and watched with interest for the "coals of juniper" (Psa. cxx. 4). They appeared to be like the best hardwood coals, giving out a strong heat, and brightening up when separately exposed.

The next morning (February 27th) we went early to the place of our last night's fire, and found that, without any care of ours, it had kept through the night, and there were good juniper coals beneath the ashes, enough to kindle it up again easily. As we left camp, and afterward occasionally during the day, little birds were singing and flitting about. We soon passed, on the right, Wady Keneb, in which water is found not far away. Here we entered on a broad plain, as much as six miles long, and from one to two miles wide, covered in every direction with vegetation. In an hour and a quarter from the time of starting we passed a spring in the rocks to the right, which the Arabs said runs three months in the year, but was dry now. A few acacias were scattered along through this region. In thirty-five minutes we left the valley (here called Akir), and for thirty

minutes ascended to the top of a pass, where we saw cairns, of which the only account that we could get was that they were "ancient tombs." A rocky, rugged descent of twelve minutes brought us fairly into Wady Bark. The way continued rocky; but here we began to encounter very large acacias, many of which were more than two feet in diameter. At one point a little farther along there were more than two hundred in sight, at another point I counted sixty-seven, at another more than sixty. In one or two places I noticed traces of coal-pits. Young and thrifty trees were scarce, nearly all being old and crippled. Neither here nor elsewhere did the slightest attention seem to have been given to the trees, except to destroy them. In one place the solitude was relieved by a lizard fifteen inches long that ran under a rock, and about the middle of the forenoon by a company of Bedouin, with eight loaded camels, making for the convent. A little later we came to a wall some six feet high, extending up the hill-sides, built by the Bedouin a few years ago, to resist the Pasha of Egypt, but which became the scene of their defeat. At noon we passed, on the left, Wady Taiyibeh, down which, about three hours away, we were told was a fountain. Here we turned nearly north, crossing Wady Sik in about half an hour, and soon entering Wady Khūmileh. This valley offered nothing of interest. After following it nearly two hours, we turned to the left from the usual and easier road to Wady Hamr, descended for fifteen minutes a rough and difficult pass into Wady Sūwūk (or Suwig), in which, after about three-quarters of an hour, we encamped near Sarabit el Khadim.

For two or three days the clouds had been gathering, disappearing and reappearing, darker each time. And now, just as we dismounted, a few drops of rain admonished us

to make haste. Hardly were we comfortably housed before the rain came in good earnest. For at least four hours and three-quarters it fell steadily, and was still falling when I went to sleep at ten o'clock. After three weeks of uninterrupted fair weather it was a pleasant experience.

The very considerable amount of rainfall in the peninsula, besides being indicated in other ways, is well attested by the similar experience of other travellers. The terrible storm and flood which Mr. Holland encountered in or near Wady Solaf has been already mentioned. On the 11th of December the Ordnance Survey encountered at Er Rahah a tempest of wind that tore up their tent-pins, and that was followed by a snow-storm. Mr. Stephens experienced a violent and drenching rain of several hours, near the entrance of Wady Sa'al, during the season of Lent. Mr. Randall, on the 6th of March, at Sinai, had a slight shower of rain "accompanied by one broad flash of lightning and a heavy clap of thunder." On the 9th of March (1854) Graul rode forth from Sinai for several hours in a storm of wind and hail, which was followed by a shower of rain in Wady Solaf. Stanley experienced in Wady Sa'al "a sharp storm of rain," and "took refuge under a retem." Mr. Bonar mentions rain in Wady Berrah during the night of January 30th. In Wady Lebweh, Ebers and his company were almost literally deluged by a violent thunder-storm during the night. Graul learned that four years previous to his visit it snowed on one occasion seven days in succession, and the Arabs had to remove the snow from the convent. The effects of the great storm of 1872 on the convent gardens has been already mentioned.

It will thus be seen that there is no lack of rain in the Sinaitic peninsula, occurring, according to these citations, in the months of December, January, February, and March.

Some one traveller has mentioned that there had been a drought for two years in Wady Sa'al at the time of his visit. But from the testimonies given, it would appear that in general throughout this region there are abundant rainfalls during the year, sometimes in excessive quantities, and that, too, though the valleys are so largely denuded of trees. This fact is an important element in estimating the possibilities of the journey of Israel as recorded in the Scriptures.

Next morning (February 28th) the air was clear. Some broken clouds still floated in the sky, but were soon scattered by a high wind. Our dragoman had negotiated last night for an ibex which an Arab had killed and brought to us here, and to-day we had our first experiment of this kind of food. It was very similar to good mutton or venison, improving very much in quality after being kept some time. The fine pair of horns which I secured accompanied us through the remainder of our journey, and, after having been once stolen and recovered at Hebron, have found their way to a home in Chicago.

Early in the morning we set off to visit the ruins of Sarabit el Khadim. Notwithstanding the heavy rain of the previous night we experienced no inconvenient effects. The water had run off from the hill-sides and disappeared in the sands. Our attendants, however, had evidently made up their minds to have a long halt here. First came the dragoman's servant Ibrahim to say that it would rain, and would be a bad day for visiting the ruins. I had consulted the barometer, however, and told him we would go. Then came the sheikh to say that the rain had made the walking too bad for us. I told him we did not mind that. Then he appealed to us to stay on account of a sick camel. But as he had troubled us before, and as we knew that there

were other Arabs near of whom we could easily procure another, if necessary, we informed him that we could not spend our time and money in waiting. But it was nine o'clock before we could get off.

After ordering the camp to move toward Wady Hamr, we crossed a steep hill, or ridge, immediately west of our hut, and descended at once into Wady Sarabit. It was a long, deep glen. The eastern side of it was a sandstone wall, almost as vertical as a piece of masonry. On the western side rose Sarabit el Khadim, which Palmer translates "the heights of the servant," being informed by his Arab that it was so called from a black statue of a servant which was carried away by the French. Ebers conjectures that it means "the heights of the stronghold," from an Egyptian word, *chetam*. Mr. Bonar shows that all things are possible in the way of identification, by connecting Sarabit with Zarephath, and suggesting that it may have been a southern smelting-place of the Phœnicians, corresponding to the northern Zarephath, "which was the great smelting-place for the mines of the north."

The hill rises some seven hundred feet above the valley. A series of sharp ascents, sometimes over loose rocks, and of walks along the edges of precipitous cliffs, brought us to the top in three-fourths of an hour from the camp. Here we found an oblong plateau, of some acres in extent, on the northern part of which are the principal ruins. They were first visited by Niebuhr in 1762, he having been guided thither by mistake. They have since been often visited and described. Crossing the ruins of an enclosing wall, that had been laid without mortar, we hastened to the temples. Passing through the outer temple, of which the parts lay scattered in much confusion, we entered the older and inner structure, which Sharpe characterizes as "perhaps the oldest

temple in the world.”⁶ It is hewn in the sandstone cliff. The principal chamber, the one we entered, is small, measuring only about sixteen feet by ten, with a column left in the centre two feet square—although the front face is reduced by a split to fifteen inches. In the end of the room, opposite the door, is a niche three feet wide, three feet deep, and two feet high, to the left of which, on the wall, are seated figures, showing traces of green paint and other colors dimly discernible. Another niche exists in the eastern side toward the farther end, and on the same side, nearer the door, is the entrance to another rock-hewn room, which offers nothing of special interest. These niches are supposed to have been for images of the gods, or perhaps for altars. The surface of the walls has largely scaled off, leaving here and there hieroglyphics, with traces of paint. The red and black band above and below the green of the hieroglyphics is very difficult to detect. The apartment itself is so filled with debris as to be not more than about four and a half feet high, and the door not more than two and a half. The powdered red sandstone has formed again at the bottom into another softer sandstone. On the front of the central column are still to be seen six figures, showing clear traces of green paint over the principal parts, and among them a royal cartouch, from which I copied the name of Amenemha II., of the twelfth dynasty, in the twenty-fourth year of whose reign these explorations were commenced.⁷ This smaller and oldest temple was extended a few feet in front of the excavation by means of masonry.

In front of this, and connected with it, though not in the same line, but farther to the west, is a much larger temple in ruins. It consisted of an open court, and beyond it a

⁶ Sharpe's History of Egypt, i. 28.

⁷ Birch's History of Egypt, p. 67.

building divided into small rooms. Portions of the walls and fragments of columns lie about in confusion. A few columns are standing upright, and their capitals are adorned with heads of Athor, the Egyptian Venus, to whom the place seems especially to have been consecrated. The temples are understood to have been for the use of the Egyptian miners and their guards employed in this neighborhood. In the court are a few tall sandstone *stelæ*, or tablets, the tallest of them twelve or fourteen feet high, with inscriptions badly effaced by time. Signs of recent digging showed fragments of pottery and alabaster vessels. The Ordnance Survey found a gold ornament, a few scarabæi, and pottery. The carvings on the outside of the southern wall of this temple are very well preserved, and were made after the stones were in place, as the carvings extend across the junctures. Around this temple is a large oblong enclosure of stones, now fallen, comprising a space 160 feet in length and 70 in breadth. About a third of a mile south of the temple, on a high and slightly point of the ridge, stands a tall stela in the centre of a small enclosure, now fallen; and on the stela can be barely discerned a royal cartouch. Between this and the temple are several other tablets, mostly fallen, and surrounded by the fallen walls of small enclosures. One stands nearly east of the temple. There are about twenty stelæ, including the fallen ones.

On these temples and tablets are found the names of several of the most remarkable Egyptian monarchs, extending from the twelfth to the twentieth dynasties, from before the time of Joseph till after Moses. These works are later in origin and later of abandonment than those at Maghâra. Amenemha II., in whose reign they were commenced,⁸ was

⁸ This is the express statement of Dr. Birch. Ebers (p. 452) affirms it to be positively settled (*es steht fest*) that these works are as old as those of Maghâra.

the monarch in whose reign (or that of his predecessor and associate, Osirtasen I.) the celebrated Asiatic procession was inscribed in the tomb at Beni-Hassan. The other royal names definitely mentioned by Mr. Birch, are those of Amenemha III., Amenhept III. (and apparently Amenhept IV.), Setnecht, and Rameses III., of the twentieth dynasty, "the last of the great heroic kings of Egypt."⁹ Lepsius expressly adds the great warrior monarch, Thothmes III.¹⁰ Ebers erroneously asserts that no royal name is found here later than Rameses II.¹¹ It will be seen that a long hiatus exists from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty. Then (unless the name of Rameses II. be indeed here) there follows another gap to the twentieth dynasty, and the series ends with the last of the greater monarchs. Thus while the inscriptions at Maghâra end with Thothmes III.,¹² undoubtedly before the Exodus, the inscriptions at Sarabit el Khadim date both before and after, but none have been found coinciding with the supposed date or dates of the Exodus. Still, the absence of the records will not certainly disprove the occupancy, especially in the case of Sarabit el Khadim, where there was a later possession, and where intermediate names may have been obliterated. Perhaps here is some clue

His sole basis for the statement is the inscription at Sarabit el Khadim, "The like was not done since the days of King Snefru." We may add, the like inference was never drawn but by a German.

⁹ History of Egypt, pp. 67, 71, 76, 113, 144, 151.

¹⁰ Letters from Egypt, etc., Bohn's edition, p. 301.

¹¹ *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, p. 139. Mr. Palmer, probably following an error of Wilkinson, says (p. 233) that the name of Rameses IV. is here. Murray's *Guide to Egypt and Palestine* adds many other names, *e. g.*, Osirtasen I., Thothmes IV., Seti, Rameses II., Menephta, Rameses IV., V., VI., and "nearly all the kings of the nineteenth dynasty." It is difficult to say whence this information was derived.

¹² So says Mr. Palmer, p. 233. But Ebers insists (*Durch Gosen*, pp. 139, 150, 538, *et seq.*) that the escutcheon of Rameses II. is found at Maghâra.

to the probable journey of Israel. The knowledge that this place, and the neighboring region as far as Maghâra, had been held as stations of Egyptian soldiery—for we find in the second year of Amenemha III. that there was a garrison of 734 men at the latter place¹³—would naturally deter the Israelites from the northern route to Sinai. Should it prove true, as Ebers holds, that Maghâra, and thus, doubtless, Sarabit el Khadim, had been held by Rameses II., the reason would be a strong one. And the absence of records from that time to the reign of Setnecht would coincide with the probable weakness and confusion of the empire after the calamities of the Exodus. The scarabæi, broken pottery, broken necklace, and gold ornament that have been found here, to say nothing of buildings and inscriptions far antedating the residence in Egypt, are incontestable proof of the possibility that some actual relics of the passage of Israel through this whole region might be found, especially in places of considerable sojourn; that the careful search for some such tokens is not folly; and that not even the belief that they are discovered is absurd. It is a question of simple evidence, having no presumptions against it.

On the way from the temples to the southern stela is what has been called a slag-heap, and a quarter of a mile north of the temples is another, still larger. The specimens which I brought away contain iron in considerable quantities, but do not seem certainly to be slag.

Toward noon we continued our way in the direction of Wady Hamr. The route offered no objects of interest. We travelled some six miles north in Wady Sŭwŭk, leaving behind us the high sandstone chain of which Sarabit el Khadim is a part, thence westward, passing some curious

¹³ Birch's History, p. 71.

isolated peaks and oblong heights; crossing a considerable space of sand followed by open slopes, till we reached a rocky platform that formed the highest point and boundary between the eastern and the western wadies. Our camp was in Wady Bedá, just east of the summit. North of us, stretching to the right and left as far as the eye could see, was the high mountain range of Jebel et Tih and El Ejneh. By walking a quarter of a mile to the west, we could see the mountains beyond the Red Sea. The day was cold, and we were glad to reach the shelter of our tent.

Sunday, March 1st.—The first day of spring came in bright and pleasant, but the thermometer was at forty-three degrees at seven o'clock. All around us, and even within a few rods of our tents, were fresh ibex-tracks, made during the night or early morning. We were upon a region of sandstone, the upper part of which was disintegrated, leaving hard nodules. There was also an abundance of various-colored quartz and felspar, from the decomposition of coarse granite. In the immediate neighborhood there was not an object of interest nor a living creature to be seen except what belonged to our own company. A day of more absolute Sabbath stillness could not well be imagined.

We left camp (March 2d) just before eight o'clock, to follow this northern route to its place of divergence from the junction of wadies Shebeikeh and Hamr. Sheikh Selim, as usual, said that it could not be done so as to return to our camp the same day. We descended at once from the high plateau into Wady Hamr, which was here a broad and rather barren opening, bounded by low hills and hillocks of sandstone and sand, beyond which on the north lay the high range of Et Tih. The retem was moderately abundant through the whole length of the wady, and there was a fine supply of desert herbs, though much less than in the moun-

tain wadies. Of trees we saw but about a dozen (acacias) through the whole distance of about sixteen miles that we travelled.

We soon met a caravan of Arabs from Cairo, with twenty camels, loaded chiefly with provisions for the convent. Our Arabs said that this route is a day shorter than the other. At 9.45 the valley became much narrower, and was bounded by higher and more continuous cliffs on both sides. At this point we passed a few Sinaitic inscriptions. At 10.15 we reached the south-east corner of Sarabit el Jemel, and the way became increasingly barren. About noon we passed the mouth of Wady Ibn Sŭkr, which stretched to the north, and seemed to be much better covered with vegetation. The high limestone cliffs on each side now rendered the valley, though of considerable breadth, very hot and uncomfortable. We kept on till half-past twelve, and then climbed the high limestone bank and traced the course of the valley to where within about a mile it wound round to the entrance of Wady Taiyibeh, the dark cliffs of which were plainly in sight. As we had, on our way to Sinai, looked up into the entrance of Wady Hamr from Shebeikeh, and had now followed it back so close to the point of junction, our object was accomplished, and we returned to our camp. We had been eleven hours in the saddle, and as we had pushed our camels, we reckoned the distance about sixteen miles and back. Wady Hamr toward its lower end is extremely winding, and the journey itself was of very little interest, except as the means of ascertaining the exact nature of the route. The track to-day was an easy one, and indeed the whole route from Sinai offered no passages of extreme difficulty. The descent into Wady Sŭwŭk had been rough and hard, and wheel-carriages could hardly have passed over it. But there was an easier way around. The

considerations against this route lie not in its impracticability, so much as in its being a return from the encampment by the sea, and more exposed to contact with Egyptian forces.

The water-supply I have indicated so far as I could ascertain it. One spring mentioned by Mr. Palmer in Wady Berrah is possibly to be added to those I have specified, though I am not confident. He also mentions (p. 23) a perennial stream in Wady Nasb, south of our route. Russegger, who camped in Wady Nasb, describes only some wells there, one hour down the valley, which he visited, and found the water salt but cool, and, in comparison with the water of Ayún Músa, which had been kept in leathern bags, "a drink for the gods."¹⁴ Mr. Palmer, who visited the wady, speaks (p. 143) of "a little spring modestly oozing out from behind a huge stone."¹⁵

¹⁴ Reisen, iii. 28.

¹⁵ All references to Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus* are to the English edition.

CHAPTER XV.

THE DESERT OF THE WANDERING.

WE left camp (March 3d) at 7.45, moving northward across the plain toward the pass Er Rakineh. It is a route seldom travelled by any but natives. The only Europeans who had preceded us, and had made a record of the journey, so far as I am aware, were Strauss in 1845, and Bonar in 1856. We soon entered the deep, dry bed of a wady, which steadily grew deeper as we approached the precipitous wall in front of us by a long and gradual ascent. Before us, to the east and the west, stretched the high mountain range, not revealing to the eye a single point that seemed accessible, although there are really four of these passes at wide distances apart, namely, Emreikheh, Rakineh, Wursah, Mirad.

At 10.50 we fairly commenced upon the mountain pass, and the heat of the sun fell upon us in full power as we crawled up this glaring southern exposure. It seemed impossible that loaded camels could ever reach the top. As we wound our zigzag way up the mountain side, the view behind opened more and more impressively. Directly beneath lay the plain we had just crossed, a little beyond it the Debbet er Ramleh ("plain of sand"), then the deep brown and red of the Sarabit el Khadim range, beyond that the sharp bold outline of Serbal, and farther to the left Jebel Catherine streaked with snow. For about half an hour the rock we were climbing seemed to be sandstone, after

which we were making our way evidently up the great limestone plateau that stretches far to the north. In an hour and a half we reached the top of the sharp cliffs, and the barometer showed our ascent during the time to have been nine hundred and seventy feet, not including the long previous rise along the wady and some subsequent ascent.

After a brief pause to rest and to enjoy the singular prospect, we followed for forty minutes a deep, tortuous wady-bed, observing a large amount of vegetation in the connected wadies and on the slopes, especially wherever the slightest depression formed a watercourse. We halted at our lunching-place an hour and a half for our baggage-camels to overtake us. It was nearly two hours more before we fairly emerged from the intricacies of the long defile, the path holding on through a series of twisted watercourses, up and down, now along rocky cliffs of loose texture, and now by the side of precipitous strata of solid stone, at the foot of which lay immense quantities of great fallen blocks, as if for the building of a pyramid.

At four o'clock the sight of two small palm-trees promised water. We found a little stream, which the Arabs said was perennial, issuing from among the rocks, forming a series of capacious pools, and running off into a deep limestone ravine. The first pool was seventy feet long by twenty-five feet wide, and in its deepest places ten or twelve feet deep. Another was about a hundred feet long, varying from twenty to forty feet wide, and from six inches to three feet in depth. There were other pools of considerable capacity below (as well as between these), and the stream wound thence through a long ravine or cañon, where the channel was worn sixty feet deep, with almost vertical walls, and the water stood in some places a few inches and in others eight or ten feet in depth. We could trace the water in

this channel for a quarter of a mile before our path turned away from it. The name of the place was given to us by the Arabs as Abu Nutheigineh. The same name was obtained by Strauss, and appears in the list given to Bonar by his sheikh, although the latter enters it in his journal as Nuthagah, possibly from a wrong hearing. Strauss speaks of the place, however, as containing only "cisterns of rain-water." Our casks were filled here. At this spot Mr. Bonar's dragoman and sheikh constrained him, though unwilling, to halt for the night, saying that "the men and camels were weary." Our sheikh made us the same proposal, to which we declined to accede. The dragoman seconded our decision, remarking that the rocky surface would not hold our tent-pins, and the sky looked threatening. The Arabs were always inclined to take things easily.

Continuing our way, ascending and descending, in a north-easterly direction, we came at length to an open plateau, stretching away before us on every side, yet broken here and there by ridges of rock terminating most abruptly on the sides and ends. Two or three large mountain groups were in sight, but the whole scene offered nothing either attractive or impressive. It was not exactly a sand-sea, interrupted here and there by abrupt islands of rock, but rather a rough and undulating dreary brown plain, broken occasionally by sharp and shapeless oblong rock-mounds, looking "like baked earth or sun-dried clay," never diversified by peak or cone, but as flat as the plain below. The surface of the soil was generally hard, and frequently strewn with flints. We found indications of recent rain as we advanced, and the clouds were still lowering. Over that part of the plain which we now entered, besides the common desert vegetation, a multitude of herbs were just visible above ground, with the promise of making it shortly a green.

Between Nutheigineh and Nukhl we had no occasion to search for water, nor did we learn of any special supply. The wadies in places showed signs of moisture. So far as our observation extended, Mr. Palmer's description would hold: "The country is nearly waterless, with the exception of a few springs situated in the larger wadies; but even here water can only be obtained by scraping small holes or pits in the ground, and baling it out with the hand."¹ We had no occasion to resort to this process. As his path to Nukhl lay some distance to the east of ours, by the pass of Emreikheh, his general description of the soil will both express and supplement our observation of this part of the desert: "The ground is for the most part arid and unyielding, and is covered in many places with a carpet of flints. In spite of the utterly arid nature of the soil, a quantity of brown parched herbage is scattered over the surface, and affords excellent fuel for the camp-fire. During the greater part of the year this remains to all appearances burned up and dead, but, as I have before remarked in the case of the Sinai desert, it bursts into sudden life with the spring and winter rains. In the larger wadies, draining as they do so extensive an area, a very considerable amount of moisture infiltrates through the soil, producing much more vegetation than on the plains. Sufficient pasturage for the camels is

¹ Mr. Palmer's narrative mentions no spring or well on his route between the pass of Emreikheh and Nukhl. But just before entering on the Tih he passed, in Wady el Byar, "three or four deep but dirty wells" of disagreeable water, not only impregnated with ammonia from the "goats of centuries," but containing a strong solution of Epsom salts. He was, however, compelled to live on it for nearly a week. He adds (p. 320): "The want of water is one of the most serious drawbacks to desert exploration; we ourselves suffered considerably from it at times, and I have on several occasions been compelled to go as much as three weeks without so much as washing my hands." Our own company never lacked good water in abundance, both for cooking, drinking, and washing.

always to be had in these spots, and here and there a few patches of ground are available for cultivation."

To this general statement it may be added that in this western region, where we crossed, the wadies are very extensive. Wady el Arish runs across nearly the whole desert, and often spreads out to a great width. It is also joined by numerous others, the chief of which are Garaiah and, farther north, Abyadh, with their branches. The extent of these more moist and fertile areas will appear in the sequel. Probably, moreover, the effect of the winter rains on the general desert is not usually taken sufficiently into the account. I had already observed, on first entering upon this region, the large amount of vegetation just peeping above the surface. Our journey was too early in the season for us to see the full effect of these rains, affirmed as it is by so many distinct sources of information. Mr. Palmer passed through the region still earlier (in January), and seems to have experienced an unusually dry season. Mr. Bonar crossed this region in February, but unfortunately makes almost no remark bearing on the subject. Strauss, whose passage over the same track must have been nearly of the same date as our own, simply says that "the journey was in valleys mostly covered with flint or quicksand," specifying, however, that the second night they encamped in Wady el Arish "under tamarisks, and the camels found excellent pasturage." But it must be said that the general aspect of the region is singularly forbidding, and that the broad and extensive wadies seem to the eye the only hopeful regions. No traces of former occupancy fell under our observation before reaching Nukhl.

At about six o'clock, notwithstanding the assertion of our Arabs (to which we had learned to pay no heed) that there was no good spot for a camp beyond Nugheitineh, we

reached a place where there was room for an army, and we halted for the night. They called it Tabigat Nutheigineh. Jebel Rakineh lay south thirty-five degrees west, at a distance of about five miles. The clouds looked threatening, and in the evening there was a slight sprinkling of rain.

On the morning of March 4th all was in readiness for an early start, except one camel. The creature had mysteriously disappeared here in the desert. After three-fourths of an hour spent in fruitless search, his load was distributed among the other animals, and at twenty minutes before eight we were in motion. At nine we struck the southwest end or branch of Wady el Arish, which was here a broad basin a hundred feet deep, beginning abruptly on the right of our path, and spreading out into several lateral branches equally deep and abrupt. Its bed was well filled with herbs and lines of shrubs. In ten minutes we descended into it, and found the shrubs to be partly retem, but chiefly tamarisk. We continued to follow the bed of the wady four hours, before once diverging from it. Meanwhile the high banks gradually grew lower, till at one o'clock they were but a few feet high, and the valley as steadily grew broader. At lunch-time I paced it, and found the breadth to be three-fourths of a mile. In many places it was greater. Through the whole distance it was well interspersed with desert herbs, except in the deep gullies, and was filled with parallel lines of tamarisks, growing mostly in clumps. Seen in advance, it looked like a forest of low trees. At lunch-time we started a hare, which, having no experience of Arab shooting, ran as though his life depended on it. Here we were kept waiting two hours for our baggage-camels, which were probably delayed by their perpetual cropping of the herbs and shrubs, a practice to which

not only is the creature addicted, but in which his driver persists in indulging him on every opportunity.

At three in the afternoon we set forward, leaving the wady for a time, and travelling over a hard level surface covered with flints and gravel. There was little vegetation, except in the depressions of the surface; but however slight these might be, they were always lined with herbs. After a time our course led us back into the great wady; and when, at five o'clock, we left it again, we could still trace its line of tamarisks in the distance as far as the eye could see. At 5.45 we encamped on the edge of one of its branches, almost due west of the chief peak of Jebel Ejmeh. During the day we had encountered no one, although Mr. Bonar, in the month of February, had seen along the region we had travelled, in Wady Barudh el Ayedeh, a flock of seventy or eighty camels feeding, which the Arabs were keeping there "a month or two for pasturage." The day had been cloudy, with slight sprinklings, and in the evening the rain set in with some steadiness.

It rained, with intervals, through the night, and a closing shower fell next morning (March 5) at seven o'clock. But as the Arabs and the barometer promised fair weather, we moved on at twenty minutes past eight. We deemed it important to reach Nukhl that night, as we were to change Arabs and camels there, and wished to forestall a part of the vexatious delay always attendant. We had the usual difficulty of ascertaining the distance, and received little encouragement from the Arabs that we could go through. They wanted another day's pay. We were obliged, as usual, to settle our own plans, and we determined, if possible, to push through.

In one hour we passed the northern point of Jebel el Ejmeh, and came in sight of other ranges of low, isolated

mountains, both on the right and on the left. Wady el Arish stretched off far to the north-west, with branches thrust out in various directions, so as to create the impression of a long, wide plain, full of scattered herbage and shrubs. At ten o'clock we entered it once more, and found its bed marked by tamarisks. The hills or mountains in sight seemed composed of nearly horizontal strata of rock, covered more or less with sand, and terminating abruptly on all sides. Smooth limestone strata occasionally came to the surface along the way we travelled, although commonly covered with sand and small hard stones. Where we had camped the night previous it had been a matter of some search to find a place with soil deep enough to hold our tent-pins in case of a breeze. All the indications were of a vast limestone plateau, which in the course of ages the elements had gradually worn away, leaving ranges and isolated banks undisturbed, and a moderate covering of hard arid soil on the plain. At half-past ten we passed a singular conical hill, crowned with a fortress-like rock, perhaps four hundred feet in height. Twenty minutes later we left Wady el Arish, but could still trace it as far as we could see to the north-west, by its tamarisks and other vegetation. Our own route through the day varied from north-north-east to east-north-east. Every little depression where the water could lie for a time was lined with herbage.

At noon we turned almost due east by a gradual ascent (Nugb Hâret) between two low ranges of hills, reaching the summit in fifteen minutes, and the foot on the other side in ten minutes more. Here we turned north-east again. Twenty minutes more brought us to Wady el Aujâneh, which came from the south-east, a third of a mile wide, well filled with retems and tamarisks. We followed it northward for an hour and twenty minutes, and passed from it

as it bore away to the left. In another hour we crossed a branch wady, which joined Aujaneh west of us, and an hour later another wady (Etrákeh) a mile in breadth. Ascending a high plateau at six o'clock, we came in sight of Nukhl, still an hour distant. It was now the dragoman's turn to hold back, because, he said, we should be so late for our dinner and arrangements for the night: but we pushed on. The wind blew raw and chilly. At seven o'clock we rode up to the fortress, weary, hungry, and cold. The governor, a seedy-looking personage in slippers, a blue coat, and red trousers, imperfectly buttoned, received us in the guard-room. Here an attendant kept up a brisk fire of brush-wood, the smoke of which gave no additional blackness to the walls, while it filled our eyes with tears, and partly escaped, in a leisurely way, by the hole in the great door through which we had entered. The governor soon treated us with muddy coffee, in small cups, then drew his chibouque from his mouth and offered it to me. I took his coffee, and after bringing his pipe near my mouth, in token of amity, returned it to his red-legged highness. Meanwhile our servants and caravan arrived, and our cook, by omitting (at our suggestion) the soup, for the first and last time upon the journey, hurried up our dinner at nine o'clock. We soon after retired, and slept a long, sound, and dreamless sleep, thanks to the excellent digestion of the camel-ride and the desert.

The morning of March 6th was cold and raw, the thermometer at thirty-eight degrees. The dragoman was negotiating and ostensibly pushing arrangements for our departure. Another set of fowls were complaining of rough usage as they entered our coop, and fresh omelet for breakfast indicated a supply of eggs. But Joseph talked dubiously about getting promptly away. The camels were far off, and

there were various difficulties. We had a suspicion that he was at first in no extraordinary haste; but apparently he became so harassed by the band of extortioners, into whose hands we had for the first time fallen, that he was eventually as earnest as we to depart. But there was no prospect of it to-day. We had more than ample opportunity to look around the place.

Kala'at Nukhl (the "fortress of the palm") is a square fortress standing on high ground in the midst of a desert plain, which Burckhardt rather improbably conjectures to have been once covered with palm-trees. A few palms by the well are all that we can reasonably suppose to have been here, and not one is now to be seen. At the south of the fort, outside, are a few mud-built huts, out of which lean and cowardly dogs rushed and barked furiously, and to which they hastily retreated before the stone or stick, to bark still from the top of the hut. The fort is manned by a small body of soldiers, in the ordinary dirty Arab dress. Two of them were found necessary to guard our tents by night, a package of biscuits and a tent-cord having disappeared soon after our arrival. The guard served also as a basis for additional levies upon the dragoman. Close by the fort, on the east, are three large water-tanks, one of them measuring about ninety feet by forty-five, the others each about thirty feet square. The water stood just twelve feet deep in the largest and one of the smaller tanks. They were supplied from a deep well inside the fort, where some creaking machinery, turned by donkeys, was steadily pumping. A few rods east of the tanks is a well fourteen feet in diameter, containing six feet of water, the surface of which was forty-four feet below the mouth of the well. The stones are well worn by ropes. Besides these things, or including them, all is desolation, even the water in the reser-

voirs having an unpleasant, dirty look. But the fact that a well fifty feet deep contains six feet of water in this unpromising region, taken in connection with the other occasional wells in the peninsula, is suggestive of what resources even such regions offer to an energetic leader, if not to an indolent Turk or mercurial Arab. One is instantly reminded of that passage in Numbers (xxi. 17, 18) which flashes forth like a streak of sunlight from the compressed history of forty years—a passage which even Ewald ascribes to the time of Moses.²

The next day (March 7th) was a day of hinderance and annoyance. The dragoman spent the day ostensibly in endeavoring to settle with Sheikh Selim for the past, and to arrange with the new sheikh for the future. Selim had been, according to Joseph's statement, exacting additional money on the way, and was now refusing to give his receipt. He was also charged with stealing provisions. A complaint to the effendi had secured only his temporary arrest; for, as Joseph alleged, Selim, on paying the effendi more money than Joseph did, was released. Meanwhile no progress could be made in anything, and Joseph came to us in deep despair. How much of his despair was for dramatic effect on us, of course can never be known. But it became evident that he was in the power of the leeches, and that, willing as he might be to prolong the journey, he was more anxious to escape from Nukhl.

So we concluded to extemporize a little scene. I laid on the table of my tent the sextant and azimuth compass which had been kindly lent us in Cairo by General Stone, with the consent of the Khédive, together with our passports and a personal letter from the President of the United States to

² Geschichte von Israel, ii. 287.

consuls and ambassadors, furnished me before leaving home. We seated ourselves around, and requested the company of the effendi. He came, and with him the military governor. We invited them to be seated, while the dragoman stood in the august presence as interpreter. What rhetorical embellishments may have accompanied my French as it was transferred into desert Arabic, I can only conjecture. But the dragoman's feelings and capacities were evidently equal to the occasion. I asked the effendi if he saw those instruments, and he rose with an appearance of the profoundest interest and curiosity to take a nearer view, looked them all over, and replied that he did. I then stated to him that the instruments belonged to his Highness the Khédive (here he looked deeply attentive again); that they had been intrusted to me for the journey by the état-major, General Stone, to whom I was to return them with a report of our journey; and that, if he failed to secure justice to the dragoman, or hindered us on our way, I should certainly report his conduct at head-quarters. Other remarks accompanying were evidently rendered by Joseph with much alacrity and freedom, if we could judge from the number of his words. The effendi listened with the same appearance of absorbed interest to the close, professed the most earnest desire to please us, and departed to enter on his labors with Selim. Not long afterward, as I drew near where they were in conference, he evidently saw me first, for he rose with great zeal from his seat and gesticulated vigorously in Selim's face. After more talk, and a second confinement of the sheikh, the receipt was forthcoming. The effendi also unquestionably bestirred himself in other ways to facilitate our journey, and the prospect brightened for our departure next day. But Joseph managed to let us know that the irreverent rogue relieved himself, on his departure from our tent,

by the remark that *he* was governor here. But any private reflections of his upon the authority of the Khédive did not lie in our province to resent. We were satisfied we had handsomely represented the supreme power, so far as our responsibility extended.

March 8th.—It seemed to be fully arranged last night that we should proceed this morning. But the morning brought its complications. We were now to be in charge of the Tiyahah tribe of Bedouin, a much wilder and fiercer race than the Towarah, who had hitherto conducted us, and had proved as mild as lambs. The head sheikh of the whole tribe, Mislih, who had at length made his appearance, was a swarthy personage of sinister look, and apparently of dogged, domineering spirit, fully conscious of his great importance. Joseph afterward informed us, with a kind of awe, that he was a fierce fellow, and had even been known to strike a dragoman. Joseph evidently stood in fear of him, and of the whole tribe he represented.

We were very desirous of setting out in good season, and had pressed the importance of it with reference to our plans, although well aware of the inveterate Arab habit of making a short journey the first day. But everything hung fire. Through the whole morning nothing was done but dawdling, and chattering, and scolding, and rushing hither and thither. The camels at length made their appearance from the desert, but there was no loading. A knot of Arabs stood a few rods away, howling and gesticulating till it became unendurable. At length one of our company, out of all patience, and forgetting the difference between a Tiyahah and a Towarah, rushed to the group, seized the nearest Arab, whose back was toward him, gave him two vigorous pushes, and told him to “imshee” for the camels. The man whirled about. It was the great sheikh Mislih. He

turned dirty-white and speechless with rage. For one moment it was difficult to conjecture what he would not do. The next moment he stalked furiously straight out upon the desert, declaring he would not go with us at all. Here was an Arab scene with real wrath in it. The effendi and the military governor hastened after the enraged Mislih, twined their arms with his, one on each side, and after much persuasion led him slowly back, the military man soothing him occasionally by a kiss upon his lips. The dragoman came excitedly up to say that we had pushed the chief sheikh. At length the two attendants brought the sheikh to where I was, and informed him that I was the "Abu" of the party. I drew near and gazed on Mislih with the same affectionate interest with which the effendi had looked upon the Khédive's instruments, inquired earnestly if that was the sheikh, and, on being assured that it was even so, expressed my delight at making his acquaintance, and proffered him, in occidental style, my hand, which he took, and we had a zealous shaking. I said nothing of the indignity he had sustained, though I knew not what apologies Joseph might have made in my name, but soon went and sat down on my valise, to await composedly the current of events. After a little the great sheikh came to say that he would go with *me*; and again fortune seemed to favor.

Still, there was further delay. A huge camel, selected for his strength to carry the water-casks, proved as furious as the sheikh, and more permanently so. He was clearly a Tiyahah camel; for, after a prodigious growling, he sprang up in a frenzy, dashed round, scattering the Arabs right and left, and finally shook off his load. He proved victorious, and another was substituted. Then came trouble between the dragoman and the effendi. After the former had paid all the exorbitant charges, and, with much delay, had a con-

tract drawn and sealed, he could not get possession of the document. He had paid a napoleon for drawing it up, but the effendi demanded two pounds. We were all mounted, ready to ride off, when Joseph came and stated this his latest grievance. We offered to halt and worry the matter through for him. But he declared himself so glad to get away that he would rather run his risk without the instrument than stay longer in such a place. It was difficult not to agree with him, and not easy to conceive of a more undesirable place for a sojourn. Here was a set of rogues, clothed with some authority, far away from control, and eking out their scanty subsistence by extortions upon travellers. The new set of Arabs into whose charge we were now taken, appeared like a more vigorous, noisier, fiercer company than the former, but it was a relief to get away even with them. They proved, however, to be kind and trusty. The slippery member of the company was their leader. After the collision with Sheikh Mislih, it was rather a relief to find that we were to be under the personal conduct of his younger brother, Sheikh Suleimán, the same of whom Mr. Palmer speaks in many respects so highly.

Suleimán was certainly a fine-looking Arab, slender and graceful, with a bright countenance, a clear eye, and a fine black beard. He showed himself to be a man of character and decision by his command over his men, and a man of determination by his attempts to control us. We were relieved of much of his "painful" politeness by our inability to converse with him except through an interpreter, and by certain direct collisions of authority that speedily occurred between us, in which he was as passionate and petulant as a child, and finally as submissive. He was evidently aware of his fine personal appearance, and was more picturesquely, expensively, and tastefully dressed than any Bedouin I have

seen. He looked and appeared like an Arab gentleman with a tinge of foppishness. He wore an elegantly wrought *abbah*, and a striking though not gaudy *kufiyeh*, which finely set off his contemplative face. He carried a sword that had belonged to his father and his grandfather, which, however, in the ardor of his growing friendship, he once begged me to accept as a present, but which I declined, because I could not think of taking such a precious heirloom; and, moreover, because I could not think of making the expected return. He also had an English revolver, a present, he said, from Mr. Palmer, for which he soon began to beg cartridges from us; but fortunately ours would not fit. He had a love of good eating, greatly preferring European cookery to the hard fare of the desert. And as Joseph Tannus stood much in awe of him, and desired earnestly to conciliate him, Suleimán imposed himself on Joseph for many a lunch and fragment of a good dinner. They were intimate at meal-times, and ate much salt together.

We were introduced to Suleimán first just as we joyfully bid good-bye to the fortress, at a quarter after eleven o'clock, the earliest possible moment. We struck into a barren plain of clayey sand ploughed by the winds. In an hour we entered once more the great Wady el Arish, marked by its usual retems and tamarisks, which we followed an hour and three-fourths, left it for a short time, and then re-entered it, where, probably by reason of recent rains, it was fuller of vegetation than I had seen it before.

Sheikh Suleimán early began to show his disposition to control our movements. When we set out from Nukhl, we started our camels, as usual, a little in advance of the caravan. In a few minutes he overtook us, and said something to the dragoman, who informed us that the sheikh said we must keep with the caravan. Supposing that it might be a

necessary precaution in an unsafe region, though I did not like the phraseology of the communication, we slackened our pace. At lunch-time the sheikh joined the dragoman while we were eating, and apparently came in for his share of the spoils. Here the company passed us and moved slowly onward, and the sheikh afterward rode along by our side. At about four o'clock, as we neared another green wady, he suddenly left us and rode rapidly to join the caravan. We saw that he was directing the Arabs to unload. As we had started late in the day, and had made but little more than four hours of travel, we had agreed at lunch-time to ride another hour. Here seemed to be a good chance to settle the question of authority. I hastened forward and directed the dragoman to stop the unloading. The sheikh made some short reply, and the work went on. We told Joseph to tell him we did not choose to halt so early. The dragoman replied for Suleimán that it was "*la règle*" (the rule to encamp here). "But," I replied, "we have been hindered all the morning, and we cannot end our day's travel yet." "*Mais, monsieur, il dit que c'est la règle.*" "Tell him, Joseph, that we shall not follow any such rule, but shall choose our own camp-ground, and we will not halt so early." The unloading still went vigorously on. "Joseph," said I, "tell Sheikh Suleimán that he is not our master, but our servant, and we will not encamp here." In whatever phraseology he may have couched the remark, the sheikh grew furious, and, as I was told, put his hand to his sword, and made no sign of yielding. I did not see it. For we looked away, and after an instant's consultation, in which we were perfectly agreed, we resolutely turned our camels forward on the very discernible track we had been following, and pushed on. The question was settled. A hurried glance over my shoulder, a few minutes later, detected Joseph following us;

for according to our written contract he dared not do otherwise. He in turn was followed by the sturdy Ibrahim and the solemn cook, while the Arabs were sullenly readjusting the burdens which they had begun to unbind. Everything was at length in motion behind us. After a short distance, Suleimán sent us word requesting as a favor that we would halt, because he had engaged to meet his brother in this vicinity, and because it was necessary in order to find food for the camels. As we did not know but one or both of these statements might be true, as the dragoman was very solicitous to please him, and as we had thoroughly asserted our rights, we replied that we would grant his request, but should always decide upon our camping-ground. We were the more willing to do so because one of our number was not feeling well.

Sunday, which we spent here, was a day of delightful rest, enhanced by our recent escape from the turmoil of Nukhl. Not far away the water still stood in some places in a channel, and there was young grass of some size.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DESERT OF THE WANDERING—*Continued.*

WE had planned and arranged, in compensation for our early halt on Saturday, to leave camp on Monday morning (March 9th) at half-past six; but the Arabs made it half-past seven. Quite early (at 6.30) the thermometer indicated thirty and one-half degrees, the lowest point we had seen. We set forth over a vast plain, which at intervals showed lines of vegetation running across it. In one region, for a considerable distance, the limestone came to the surface. Before nine o'clock we had crossed two wadies, at nine Wady Aggab, and at 10.25 a fourth wady, all moderately well supplied with herbs.

Already we had fallen into the region of ancient remains. At Wady el Aggab, only six hours north of Nukhl, on a low ridge, are found a great number of those sepulchral cairns, concerning which history is wanting and conjecture is at fault. They are about four feet high, and of various diameters up to twenty feet. It was along here, too, that Palmer and Drake found, in the bed of Wady Arish, in a cut eight feet below the surface of the wady, remains of a charcoal fire and of a little hearth of stones, telling of some other unwritten scenes of the past. At eleven we descended a steep declivity, and saw before us another great expanse of desert, crossed in like manner with lines of vegetation. We repeatedly entered and left Wady Ikhrimm, or Fahdi, a large and comparatively fertile depression, running north-

ward. Just after eleven o'clock we had a noticeable specimen of mirage. We saw, as we thought, directly before us, two broad lines of water waving in the gentle breeze. Not prepared for the sight of water, I doubted at first whether it could be so, but at length three of us became absolutely confident it was water. The fourth as positively insisted that it was not, but was almost, if not quite, persuaded out of his conviction. In five minutes we found that there was not a drop of water to be seen. The same deceptive appearance then extended itself in various directions, before and around us.

In the afternoon we came to Wady Garaiyeh, and were forty minutes in crossing it. Near this spot Mr. Palmer had seen one hundred and fifty milch-camels feeding, as he struck off south-easterly, following the wady some twenty miles, to Contellet Garaiyeh. The region, we observed, was more hilly in that direction, already beginning to rise into the higher elevations, which continued to increase northward, but which, however, on our line of travel, we did not enter till the next day. It was on this same parallel, on the summit of the hills at Contellet Garaiyeh, that he discovered foundations of an ancient wall of sun-dried bricks, in which were fragments of large jars that had been built into the wall in sets of four each. And, what is very remarkable, in a region where now, for many miles, not a tree is to be seen, the walls also contained beams of wood bearing indications of mortices. In the neighborhood were dry wells, or reservoirs, two of them apparently old, which are filled in times of heavy rains. It is not without reason that he would recognize in this place the Gypsaria of the Pentinger tables.¹ He found on the hard plain, on the way, a few stone circles, and at the western foot of Jebel Araif, other stone circles

¹ Desert of the Exodus, p. 423.

(sepulchral), and not very far away, remains of a very large collection of dwellings of the same antiquity. Still other rude stone remains are scattered upon various hills and ridges around.

These elevations and remains we left on our right, as we followed the wadies Fahdi and Sheraif. But it is necessary, for an intelligent understanding of the country and its possible history, to bear in mind that these indications of former human occupancy had already commenced, and that they now continued, along the elevations, and in some of the wadies, in almost continuous succession, and in increasing abundance and completeness, from a point in the desert less than fifty miles north-east of Nukhl, up to and through the South Country, and on to Palestine. I shall have occasion to specify them as I pass along. It was at this point which we had now reached that Robinson's route, coming from Akaba, joined our own, to go northward.

Soon after crossing Wady Garaiyeh we came to Wady Mayin, in some places two miles wide, which stretches off eastward, and sweeps by the northern side of Jebel Araif to the high plateau beyond it. Up in this wady, north-east of the mountain, according to the Arabs, are the wells of Mayin, containing excellent water. When we approached that wady, Suleimán insisted at once that we should encamp, declaring that otherwise we should find no fit place till midnight. As these vexatious delays were threatening to interfere with all our plans in advance, we determined not to submit to them. We told him we were not ready to halt, and moved on. He acted like a passionate boy. Putting his dromedary to full speed, he rode furiously by us, shaking his stick and vociferating fiercely as he went. I asked the dragoman what he said, and learned that he declared he would not go with such a man as I. We told the drag-

oman to tell him once more that we should choose our own ground. He soon cooled off, and went sullenly along. We proceeded another mile or more, when, having settled the question of command, and being not without apprehension that his statements concerning a camping-ground might prove true (as they did not), we concluded to halt. Three ibexes stood quietly on the place we designated. As we approached, they gave us one long scrutinizing look, made a dash, and were out of sight. The sheikh was as sullen as a half-whipped child, and averred that he would now go on till midnight. But he gave us no trouble.

This Wady Mayin, as already remarked, extends far to the north-east. When Robinson reached this place, having passed around south-west of the foot of Jebel Araif, he was confident, from the mountainous nature of the range lying north, impassable for any considerable road, and rendering necessary a curve around Araif, that he must here have struck the line of the ancient Roman (western) road from Akaba to Jerusalem. He could find, however, no trace of ancient names; but, on passing into Wady Lussán, just north of Wady Mayin and north-west of Jebel Araif, he saw remains of rude walls and foundations, which he afterward conjectured to be substructions of ancient Lysa. He was a little embarrassed by his erroneous supposition that Eboda was to be found at El Anjeh instead of Abdeh. It remained for Mr. Palmer to discover on the hill-side adjoining Wady Lussán a main road direct to Akaba along that wady, traceable for a long distance by camel-tracks, and numerous heaps of stones placed to mark the way. He also found a large number of stone cairns on the neighboring hills, and in Wady Lussán itself signs of former cultivation, including dams across the valley, and long terrace-walls on the hill-sides, which indicate a far higher civilization than

belongs to any present occupant of the region. There were also ruins of a dwelling-house, a cistern, and a granary, and pieces of fluted pottery. The distances in each direction afford good reason to believe that here was the Lysa of the Pentinger tables. It was not quite in sight from our camp, but lay directly east.

On the morning of March 10th we set out a few minutes after eight. On the way we passed various good camping-grounds, and I had a conversation with Suleimán concerning his statement the night before, intimating also that I was aware of his methods with Mr. Palmer. The effect was salutary and humbling. All day he was excessively good-natured and attentive. In the afternoon he came to inquire where I proposed to halt, and, on being informed, was greatly delighted, exclaiming, "Tayib!"

At ten o'clock we entered Wady Sheraif, and were an hour and a half in passing somewhat diagonally through it. Vegetation was scattered nearly throughout its whole extent. Slight showers came up repeatedly, but passed away as soon as we had made preparations for them.

Our route lay east of Jebel Sheraif, and we soon left Jebel Hellal still farther away to the west. At two o'clock, after a halt of forty-five minutes, we came to Wady Lusán, and were an hour in crossing it. We could see with our glasses where the ruins lay, at some distance to the right. In twenty minutes we entered another wady (Seisab) in which the tarfa, retem, and ghurkhud abounded, and the tarfa-roots showed themselves at the surface, or where the water had worn away the soil, twenty or thirty feet from the tree, as large as the thumb. Here, for the first time, I saw large drifts of sand lying along the path, and was caught in a little whirlwind filled with it.

At four o'clock we crossed Wady Jaifeh, and at five we

reached Wady Muweileh, and halted for the night. We found the wady singularly rich in flowers, beyond any that we had seen, and we gathered many different kinds. It was evident that we were passing, or had even passed, from the desert proper into a better region. We might fairly reckon this as the transition to the Negeb, or South Country. Mr. Bonar had noticed along the way we travelled that "the verdure was on the increase," especially after passing Wady Jaifeh, "and we seemed to be getting to transition ground. We met with many plants of the bulbous kind."² The only descriptive remark which Strauss makes concerning the journey of three days from Nukhl is, that on the third day "the vegetation had decidedly increased; herbs, blades of grass, shrubs, covered the soil in greater abundance and freshness."³ Robinson says of Wady Muzeirah, which runs south-west into Wady Lussán, "This whole basin was full of shrubs and vegetation, and seemed capable of tillage. Indeed, in several spots we saw traces of rude ploughing, and were told that in years of rain the Arabs were accustomed to plough and sow here. A thin, meagre grass was springing up in various places. Such spots as these we had not seen nor heard of since passing Wady Gharandel."⁴ (He did not go through Feiran.) Bonar saw here an Arab winnowing grain by tossing it in the air. Palmer had seen in Wady el Arish, a few hours from Nukhl, "a patch of ground cultivated by the Egyptian garrison" of that fortress. We passed along the edge of it.

To give a more complete notion of this "Desert of the Wandering," which we were now leaving, I will subjoin the facts as they were seen and recorded by travellers who have passed over other parts of it.

² Bonar's *Desert of Sinai*, p. 291.

³ Strauss, *Sinai and Golgotha*, p. 121.

⁴ *Researches*, i. 278.

Dr. Robinson, early in April, came across from Akaba by a north-westerly passage, and his route joined ours near Wady Garaiyeh on our second day after leaving Nukhl. On rising from the deep chasm of the Arabah, or Ghor, he entered at once on an immense plain, almost a dead level, presenting now a surface of indurated earth, and now a tract covered with pebbles of flint. Various elevations and irregular ranges of limestone hills lay in sight in different directions. The second day he found Wady Khumileh, a broad, shallow depression, "full of herbs and shrubs," and various smaller watercourses, also full of herbs, giving the plain in that vicinity the appearance of a tolerable vegetation, the more so on account of recent rains. The wadies here tended westward. The third day showed the same kind of plain, the view north-westerly being terminated by Jebel Araif, on the long eastern spur of which is a spring of living water. He found in Wady Gudheirah a pool, the chief watering-place of the Arabs in these parts. A few tufts of real grass were growing around, and some very old Te'ilh-trees. Wady Jeraifeh, which he crossed, showed "many low trees" (acacia and tamarisk), and was full of herbs and shrubs. In a tributary wady was "rain-water, collected in pits." The whole region thus far had been the very picture of barrenness, having not a particle of vegetation, except in the wadies. But in these the herbage and few trees increased as he proceeded, showing a better supply of rain. His guides gave him the names of six wadies and springs running into the Arabah from the western mountain.⁵ On the fourth day his way lay over a most desert tract of swelling hills, covered with black flints. Wady el Haibekeh was full of shrubs. As he rode over

⁵ They are (beginning at the south) El Hendis, El Ghūdeyân, Esh Sha'ib, El Jeráfeh, El Weibeh, El Khūrâr.

one barren flinty tract, in some spots he found "very small tufts of grass." And he adds one very important statement: "Our guides said that in those years when there is plenty of rain, grass springs up all over the face of the desert. In such seasons," they said, "the Arab is king." This statement corresponds perfectly with the observations of other travellers. In Wady Garaiyeh, Robinson learned of pits of rain-water, half a day's journey west of the place of his crossing, at a station on the road from the convent to Gaza. He was informed of the wells far up in Wady Mayin, east of where we encamped; and the shallow water-course running into this wady, in which he pitched his tent, was, "like most of the wadies he had passed, full of herbs and shrubs, offering fine pasturage for the camels."⁶ Such is, in brief, Robinson's account of the eastern part of the desert.

Russeger, who, in 1838, crossed the desert to Nukhl, coming from the peninsula by the pass of Wursah, found, on the second day, the wells of Redschein, containing saltish but not bad water.⁷ He mentions no other.

Seetzen crossed the desert, going southward, in 1822, somewhat to the east of our line of march, and apparently descending into the peninsula by the pass of Emreikheh. His route, not always easy to ascertain by the names assigned, passed by Wady Ain, and, leaving it one hour to the east (a point at which his sheikh told him the range of Et Tih began) touched on the western edge of Kdeis (Gadis). His track soon diverged from ours and passed six hours east of Nukhl. About five hours south of Gadis he was told of a well or fountain, Ain el Gaunas, which no other traveller seems to have mentioned. The same day, on reaching the

⁶ Researches, i. 254-275.

⁷ Reisen, iii. 59.

highest point of this section of the mountain range, he looked forth on a landscape that "extended in every direction, without tree, or shrub, or a speck of green." They lost the way for an hour, and found it again near a deep rock-ravine, where there was a good supply of rain-water for the camels as well as for the journey. They encamped that night in a valley that furnished many plants for their camels. In the night (April 1st) a violent thunderstorm overtook them, and Seetzen sheltered himself, as well as he might, under a retem-bush in full bloom. Not far from this place they found a small barley-field. The journey continued through dry wady-beds and between naked hills, although they found a lunching-place among retem-bushes. They encountered another storm the same day. The next morning the way continued over a level region strewn with flints. They took a supply of water at the wells called Bir el Achmar, learning that for several days no more was to be found. At breakfast, an Arab gave Seetzen part of a purple mushroom to eat. As he proceeded, he observed that, barren as was the soil, yet wherever there were little depressions, or slight deposits of sand, there were herbs, and frequently straggling shrubs. He encamped that night at a sandy place where there were some plants for the camels. Next day he lunched, at ten o'clock, among many retems, a little later found a rose of Jericho, on a most unfruitful hill, and at night camped among shrubs and bushes. The next day, six hours east of Nukhl, he crossed the pilgrim route, indicated by numerous parallel lines of camel-tracks. On the following morning their water gave out entirely; but they soon fell in with some Arab herdsmen keeping camels, and they not long after passed through a region showing a considerable amount of herbs and shrubs, and three hours later they came to some hills that afforded excellent pasturage.

Here they saw sheep, two flocks of goats, and numerous camels, and here they encamped, surrounded by thirteen Arab tents. They found some bad spring-water at this place. Two hours farther south (next day) they found, in Wady Biara (Byar?) wells with good water, and here the camels drank, the first time for six days. That night they encamped among twenty Arab tents, and the next day descended from the plateau of Et Tih. It will be observed that Seetzen, on the last two days, mentions one spring of bad water, and perhaps also wells of good water, not mentioned by Palmer, who went north through this same pass of Emreikheh.

At the place where Seetzen crossed the pilgrim route there was nothing but the camel-tracks to mark the way over a naked black flint-stone soil. His sheikh, Sibben, told him that the whole pilgrim route, from Suez to Akaba, was equally dreary and desolate, and that the entire vast desert of the Tih mountain chain is equally wild. Only in the rainy season is the scanty vegetation that is scattered over the sandy depressions of the surface sought by the camels and goats, driven hither by the Bedouin. The rain-water, which here and there forms little pools, serves them and their cattle for drink. Scarcely does the rain cease, and the warm weather begin, when these pools dry, and the region becomes uninhabitable. Wells and fountains are nowhere found, or, at most, very infrequently, and are chiefly only on the edge of this mountain range. This last remark is important. But it will presently be seen, from the statements of other travellers, that this Sibben, who was not specially well acquainted with this region, somewhat overstated the condition of the desert.⁸

⁸ Reisen, iii. 43-63.

Burckhardt, in August, 1812, crossed still a different part of the desert, at a different season of the year. He went south-westerly from Petra to Sinai, entering the peninsula by Nugb Emreikheh. It took him an hour and a half to go diagonally through the Arabah, entering on the east side and leaving it on the west side by a Wady Gharandel, a few miles south of Petra. The western mountain barrier was intersected by many broad wadies, in which acacias grew. It required another hour to climb the western hill, after which a gentle descent brought him to the plateau. "We had now before us an immense plain, strewn with flint-stones, in which, here and there, rose chains of hills." The next morning he went through two broad wadies, full of tamarisks and acacias. One of them was called Talha. In four hours he reached Wady Lahyaneh, a valley of great extent, and he says that in this wilderness the water collects in a multitude of low places and wadies, and promotes the growth of grass in winter, while there is a great number of trees the whole year through. In winter, Arabs from Gaza, Khulil, and the shores of the Red Sea, encamp here. This Wady Lahyaneh is on the road from Gaza to Akaba. The journey he gives as eight days, and the watering-places, El Themmed, El Mayin, El Birein.⁹ In this wady Burckhardt encountered a pair of poor tentless Arabs, who had come hither to feed their camels with the twigs of the thorny acacia. The path was strewn with great thorns, which are very troublesome to the Arabs and their beasts. Every Arab carried in his belt a pair of nippers to pull out the thorns.¹⁰

⁹ From Akaba to Hebron he gives as nine days, and the watering-places, El Ghadyan, El Ghammer, and Meyba.

¹⁰ I had seen a camel greatly annoyed, at Wady Aleyat, by getting an acacia-thorn, not into the sole, but into the division of the foot, between the toes. He finally pawed it out. Our Arabs wore their sandals in that place.

Passing out of this valley, over a chain of hills of which Ras el Kaa was the principal height, he entered a flat plain, strewn with black gravel, and late at night arrived at Biar Omschasch, where there were several wells and an Arab camp. On the next day he passed several wadies full of tamarisk and acacia (talh) trees, among which, here and there, were low shrubs. The plain was commonly sprinkled with flints, and in one place was chalky. In general he observed that where the winter rains collected, trees and shrubs also grew. Burckhardt here encountered a poor Bedouin woman, who asked for water. She was on her way to join her family at Akaba, destitute of food and drink, and dependent on the bounty of any Arabs she might encounter, but apparently "as free from care as if she were taking a walk." At the foot of the mountain Dharf el Rokn, he crossed the pilgrim route to Akaba, which was some eighteen hours distant. In four hours after crossing the mountain range, he came to the well Eth Themmed. It lies off from the pilgrim route, but is sought by the Arab conductors of the caravans for supplies of water. It is situated in a sandy soil, surrounded by limestone. Important as it is, no care is taken to prevent it from being choked with the sand and gravel which is driven by every wind. It is not lined or built up on the sides, and the Arabs are so heedless in entering it that every caravan, on arriving, immediately makes it turbid. The water contains particles of sulphur.

The plain over which Burckhardt had hitherto travelled from Ras el Kaa terminated at Dharf el Rokn. Westward the surface was more diversified by hills and valleys. Here, as he understood it, began the proper desert of Tih. The next day he came again upon the pilgrim road, a well-beaten path, marked by skeletons of beasts of burden. The soil was chalky, and strewn with gravel. The same day he came

to Wady Ruach, the bed of a winter stream only a foot below the level of the plain, yet where the winter rain promotes the growth of low shrubs and some acacias. And he takes occasion to remark that most of the wadies from thence to Egypt were of that description, and that in all of them colocynth grows in great quantities. He passed Nukhl without visiting it, lest his Arabs should be deprived of their camels by the officer in command there. Near here he found an acquaintance of his Arabs, who was burning coal for Cairo. That day the camels had nothing but desert herbs, except that Burckhardt's own camel received two handfuls of barley at night. Four hours west of Nukhl he came to a level region of "red earth fit for cultivation, similar to that in the Northern Syrian desert;" and he passed through several wadies in which numerous hares were scared up, crossed Wady Nesyl, which, though treeless, was grown up with green herbs, climbed the mountainous region of El Thyhar, passing out of the desert of Et Tih, and halted in a valley abounding in herbs and trees. On the next day, seven hours of travel brought him to the wells of Mabuk, to his great joy, for his water-skins were empty. They are in the level plain at the foot of some rocks. Good water was to be found wherever a hole was dug in the sand. The holes filled a foot or more in depth as fast as the water was drawn out. The Egyptian pilgrims pass to the north of these wells, but the Arabs fill their water-skins here. Not far from the wells are the ruins of a small building with strong walls. In seven hours more he found the plain incrustated with salt, and a narrow strip of land completely covered with shell-fish. He was now in a region which, as he supposed, was once covered by the sea. He soon reached a place where a salt marsh was on his right, and the sea four or five miles due south, and in two and a half hours more

arrived at Adgeroud (Ajroud), where he found the water abundant, but bitter, and used only for camels.¹¹

It will give a somewhat complete picture of this desert to add Rüppell's excellent description (condensed) of his journey over the caravan route from west to east, as early as April, 1822. Going north from Suez, he first passed the Mounds of Kolzum. Quite near them he observed, cut in the limestone strata on the sea-coast, some tombs, on the floors of which at flood-tide the water stands several inches deep. North-west of these ruins he travelled for half an hour along the bed of the ancient canal that connected the Red Sea and the Nile. It appeared to be about a hundred feet broad, without any trace of stone embankments, and to have availed itself of the natural outflow of Wady Babbeh, which he entered next day.

After crossing the canal, his route ran eastward for fifteen minutes by a low, marshy place, then for five hours and three-fourths over a plain containing downs of quicksand. Here he descended into Wady Babbeh, or Hadji, then dry, but sometimes filled with seven feet of water by heavy rains in the north-eastern mountains. Its channel comes to this point from the east, turns north, and loses itself in the low, marshy region of the canal. For three hours he followed this wady, then left it, where it came from the north, and proceeded on his way south-east over the chalk-hills enclosing the valley Kubab. This valley is so environed by hills as to have no outlet for its rain-water, is covered with green pasturage, and wherever holes are dug a few feet below the surface yields sweet water. But the Arabs spare themselves the trouble of digging, and get their water from some walled cisterns half an hour to the north. At

¹¹ Reisen, pp. 735-752.

the same place are some ruins, including a Mohammedan tomb. The Arabs had no name for the ruins, but showed him some copper coins of the time of the Ptolemies that were found in the vicinity. A violent shower during the night occasions the remark that during the winter months rains are far more common and severe in Arabia Petræa than is supposed in Europe.

Six hours' journey still east, in valleys lying between chalk-hills, brought him to the plain which he calls Scheme, the last pasture-grounds before reaching Nukhl. On the way he saw numerous flocks of goats, which the Bedouin drove hastily to the mountains as his company approached. The Arabs were always armed, commonly with an old rusty matchlock. They seldom had more than one charge of powder, and often not that.

From the plain of Scheme a track conducts north-easterly in six days to Jerusalem. Three hours' journey from this place east-south-east brought him to Nukhl. The way led over clayey lowlands, out of which rose in horizontal strata steep hills of limestone interspersed with flints. The surface of the ground was frightfully barren, covered with sharp-edged flints and little besides. The cisterns at Nukhl were as dirty then as now, imparting a bitter taste to the water. A heavy shower fell at that place on the night of April 24th.

From Nukhl he continued to follow, for nine hours longer, the caravan road to Mecca, east and south-east, between precipitous chalk-hills, and by the valleys of Ruack (Rawak) and Edgib, to the plain of Koroef. The landscape continued its stern uniformity, limestone hills interchanging with flint-covered and water-worn plains. At this point he turned from the road to Mecca, which continues east, and went three hours south-easterly to Wady Tamat, a depres-

sion surrounded by hills of marl, lying in horizontal terraced strata. At the foot of an angle or curve in these terraces was a well fifteen feet deep, dug in the sandy soil. The water stands but a few inches deep, but it is of excellent quality, and is found throughout the year.

Four hours east of this well he again struck the caravan road. The painful uniformity of the desert was soon interrupted by a difficult pass over a limestone hill, where the way was made easier by a passage hewn for two hundred feet in the limestone rock. An Arabic inscription records the name of its author. The region was infested by Arab robber-hordes. Beyond the pass he came to a valley green with tamarisk-bushes and "naback"-trees; and then to the plain of Darfureck. The region was destitute of vegetation, and here and there lay fragments of weather-beaten granite. Soon afterward he arrived at a group of isolated masses of granite rock, rising separately from the plain, and extending from the north-north-east to the south-south-west. Among them he was astonished to find a small pond or lake of collected rain-water. It covered a space which Rüppell estimated at an hour and a half (about three miles and three-quarters) long by five hundred paces broad, and it was several feet deep. His guide informed him that when the winter rains are not defective the water stands here throughout the year. But this statement was afterward positively contradicted. The place is called Ras es Sat. It is a high valley, having a picturesque outlook toward the Arabah on the left, to the mountains beyond Akaba in front, and to a section of the sea on the right. It lay as much as fifteen hundred feet above the banks of the Gulf of Akaba, down to which level it was still a journey of five hours, winding among wild masses of porphyry. In the most dangerous places the road is cut thirty feet wide through the rock,

and an inscription records the name of the author of the work. He rode an hour along a salt-marsh which forms the border of the gulf, and came to an extensive heap of rubbish, which he regarded as marking the site of Ailah, or Elath of the Scriptures (an opinion in which Robinson concurs),¹² and beyond these the ruins of an Arab village, consisting of low walls of rough stone laid with clay. These last were surrounded by date-palms, and not far from the castle of Akaba. The more ancient ruins he heard called Gelena (though Robinson could learn no name), and he afterward found here a hewn block of white marble, which had been first brought to light some years before, when the residents of the region were excavating an ancient bath in which they found a vessel containing gold coin. Rüppell not only mentions the stoned well in the castle which yields excellent water, but adds the important fact that drinkable water is found in the region generally; and another important fact which he often proved, namely, that at ebb-tide, on digging a foot deep in the sand that has just been covered by the sea, the hole immediately fills with excellent drinking-water. He supposes it to ooze out from Wady Arabah through the sand and gravel strata which overlie the granite.

These sketches of the desert by accurate observers who crossed it in various directions and at various seasons, will convey a somewhat complete view of its character and resources. Conceive of a vast limestone plateau thrust down with a blunt wedge-shape, or rather horseshoe, form into the northern border of the Sinaitic peninsula. Its southern edge rises like a wall almost perpendicularly a thousand feet or more above the plains and valleys immediately at its

¹² Researches, i. 241, first edition.

foot, and lies about four thousand feet above the level of the sea. It is accessible on this southern side at a few isolated passes only. This plain falls away northward with a gradual slope, till at Nukhl it is but fourteen hundred feet above the sea. Its northern part is intersected by a mountain chain, with various spurs—Jebel Magráh, which comes pushing southward, considerably east of the middle line, to within fifty miles of Akaba, and more than twice that distance from Suez. The drainage of the desert is toward the north, and is divided along the line of this mountain range, the western portion being gathered up chiefly by the great Wady el Arish, with its numerous tributaries, and carried to the Mediterranean, and the eastern portion tending to the Arabah, chiefly through the wadies Gamhr and Marreh.

The length of the desert along the pilgrim route from Suez to Akaba is about one hundred and fifty miles; the distance across by our track from Nugb er Rakineh west of Jebel Magráh to Muweileh, about one hundred and ten miles. The general nature of the surface has been sufficiently indicated. It is drearily hard and barren. Abundant rains, however, can cover these and other portions with a considerable amount of vegetation. But the wadies, including even the slight depressions where the water stands or flows, and thus comprising a very considerable portion of the surface, seldom fail to show a permanent growth of herbs and shrubs, one or both. The best parts, in their best condition, however, would be better adapted to pasturage than tillage. Camels and goats, perhaps also sheep, donkeys, and oxen, might find subsistence.

The desert is not destitute of watering-places. A few springs and wells are found, chiefly, though not solely, around the edge of it, and along the mountain range that projects into it from the north. Beginning at the western

or south-western point, it is proper to bear in mind that the wells of Mabuk lie just at the foot of the rock-wall of the desert, comparatively easy of access. On the plateau itself, some fifteen miles from the declivity, is the basin in Wady Kubbeibat (Seetzen's Kubab), in which holes dug anywhere yield sweet water, and there are walled cisterns half an hour north. About twenty miles south, in the edge of the plateau at Taset Sudr, according to Robinson, is a fountain which flows into Wady Sudr. South-east of this is a spring, with palm-trees, in Wady Wutah, an hour from the foot of the pass, which required an hour to climb; and two hours from the spring are nawamis and inscriptions. Twelve or fourteen miles farther south-east, on the plateau itself, above the pass of Er Rakineh, is the supply at Nutheigineh, which we found so copious. Next south-east is the pass of Wursah, about twelve miles north of which Russegger found the wells of Redschim. Seetzen descended from the plateau by the pass next east, Emreikheh. On the day previous he found some bad spring-water, and two hours farther south wells in Wady Biara, apparently below the plateau.

Proceeding now north-easterly on the edge of the mountain wall, we reach the very easy pass of Mirad, first ascended by Palmer and Drake. No water is mentioned here on the plateau; but down below the easy declivity of Mirad, in the wady Biyar, are three or four deep wells, and in the vicinity an immense number of nawamis and stone circles; while still farther to the south, in Wady Ain, is a running stream called Ain el Elya, and a great number of stone remains in the vicinity. From this point no fountains are mentioned, so far as I am aware, along the southern edge of the desert; nor is it definitely known what springs, if any, may be found in the short distance from here to the seashore. But on descending to the sea at Akaba, there are

numerous wells, and abundant water at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet; and even holes dug in the sand at low tide readily fill with sweet water. Along the eastern descent from the desert to the Arabah, as we have seen, Robinson enumerates and names six fountains of living water. Following the mountain chain of Magráh south from Ain Muweileh and Ain Gadis, on the extreme northern edge of the desert, we find the wells of Mayin lying on the eastern side, on the line of the Roman road, and still south-east of this, according to Robinson's Arabs, the spring Esh Shebah. Seetzen was also told by his Arabs of Ain el Gannis, five hours south of Gadis. The same day he found a good supply of rain-water in a rock ravine, and the Arabs filled their water-skins from the well called Bir el Achmar, many miles north of the pilgrim route to Mecca. In Wady Garaiyeh Palmer encountered some water that had been brought there by recent rains, and a hundred and fifty camels in the vicinity. In the direct line from Jebel Araif to Akaba, Robinson found rain-water collected in pits in Wady Butlihat; farther south, in Wady Jerafeh, rain-water in holes dug in the ground, called Emshash, probably the Bir Omschasch of Burckhardt; and still farther south, in Wady Garaiyeh, a small pool of rain-water in a deep gully, one of the chief watering-places of the Arabs in these regions. On or near the pilgrim route, which runs directly through the length of the desert from Suez to Akaba, we find only the deep wells at Nukhl nearly midway, and Bir eth Themed about half-way, between Nukhl and Akaba. To these should be added the vast collection of rain-water which Rüppell saw at Ras es Sat, in a lake three or four miles long, not mentioned, perhaps, by any other traveller. Besides these, Murray's map shows a Bir Kurèis, a few miles south-west of Bir eth Themed. Burckhardt says that in Wady Lahyaneh, east

of Jerafeh, water collects in many low places in winter, and Mr. Palmer mentions that in various wadies muddy water can be found by digging. This account, though probably including the chief watering-places of the desert, is not to be considered exhaustive; while there is no reason to doubt that by some little labor in constructing reservoirs, by dams across many of the wadies, the supply might be almost indefinitely increased. On the whole, therefore, there is nothing inconceivable in the belief that the Israelites might, by care and foresight, provide themselves with water, even in this desolate region, while journeying across, or while more permanently occupying it, especially if they were widely dispersed, and located in the more favorable parts.

The greater difficulty would have been in regard to food. It is true that the desert is intersected in every part of it by wadies, some of them of great extent, and that these, as well as all the depressions of the surface, are transiently or permanently supplied with vegetation, while, during the rainy season, other parts of the desert yield a temporary pasturage. There are limited spots even capable of cultivation. And during those long years not described in the narrative, we may reasonably suppose the Israelites widely dispersed on the more arable spots doing their best to gain a sustenance. But, with their best efforts, a great body of people must have found it impossible to procure an adequate supply of food. The difficulty would seem insurmountable. And the consistency of the Biblical narrative is in nothing more manifest than in the fact that it narrates the Divine interposition to give the people water as only an exceptional thing, but the miraculous supply of food as constant and permanent.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SOUTH COUNTRY.

March 11th.—At eight o'clock we moved up Wady Muweileh for an hour. The young vegetation was abundant all the way, extending even up the hill-sides on the right, and tinging them with green. Much of the way it formed almost a continuous sod. Three pigeons flew over our path.

At nine we came to Ain Muweileh. Here were birds singing, a large amount of ghurkhuds and tamarisks, and a fine little brook of sweet water. We followed the stream up sixty or eighty rods, and could trace the line of the wady half a mile or more to the hill-side, where the Arabs said it issued forth. It is curious that so many travellers have missed seeing this important water-supply. Russegger, as early as 1838, visited the "wells of Moyle;" but was so badly bruised by the fall of his camel, and so occupied with a prodigious rain that overtook him here, that he gives no description. Robinson, in 1838, did not see it, but heard of it as "a brackish water, called El Muweileh," at a station on the western road from Gaza. Strauss does not allude to it, nor does Bonar. Rowlands found it in 1842, and thought to identify it with the fountain of Hagar (Gen. xvi. 14); but notwithstanding his enthusiasm, he fails to give a word of descriptive statement.¹ Palmer speaks of a "spring at the foot of the mountain," and of "the valley having been

¹ Williams's Holy City, i. 465.

eaten away by the stream," adding that "there is a good supply of water obtained principally from a number of wells," and incidentally referring to "the existence of water in such large quantities upon the spot." As I saw it, there was a strong running stream, very likely increased by recent rains. Near at hand are two caves cut in the rock, showing on the walls remains of crosses and other ornamentation, of probably hermit origin, and also exhibiting numerous Arabic tribe-marks. The soil of the wady is somewhat fertile. Marks of dams for irrigation are discernible, and on the hills around are numerous remains—stone-heaps, cairns, and paths.

It is well known that some would find at Muweileh Hagar's fountain, mentioned in Genesis as "in the wilderness, in the way to Shur" (xvi. 7); as "between Kadesh and Bered," and as being "called Beer-lahai-roi" (ver. 14): and it is also mentioned by its name (xxiv. 62, and xxv. 11). This identification was first proposed in Williams's *Holy City*, on the strength of a communication and supposed discovery by Rev. J. Rowlands therein set forth. The visit was made in 1842. The identification was favorably mentioned by Ritter, has been somewhat definitely accepted by Keil and Kalisch, and received as probable by Knobel. Of the considerations urged or that might be urged in favor of it, are—(1) Its situation on the regular caravan road to Egypt, "the way to Shur." (2) Its alleged vicinity to Kadesh, "between Kadesh and Bered." Williams and others have found Kadesh also near here on the north-east. Whether it be the Kadesh of the Bible is a question on which something will be said presently. It is a long distance, perhaps forty-five miles, from Robinson's Kadesh. (3) Its relation to the movements of Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 62), when Abraham's servant came from the north with Isaac's bride. "Isaac

came from the way of the well Lahai-roi, for he dwelt in the South Country." Isaac also dwelt for a time by the well Lahai-roi (Gen. xxvi. 11), afterward dwelling in Gerar among the Philistines, moving to Esek, Sitnah, Rehoboth, and Beersheba. The last-mentioned movements are from the south to the north. Muweileh would naturally lie at the southern point. Muweileh is about thirty-five miles south of Ruhai-beh, or Rehoboth, a distance favorable to the theory, inasmuch as Lahai-roi would thus be south beyond the province of the Philistines. (4) Mr. Rowlands makes his chief argument from the name given him as Moilahi Hadjar, the first word of which, *moi* ("water"), takes the place of Beer or Bir ("well"), and the *lahi* conforms substantially to the Hebrew name. The addition *Hadjar*, though properly meaning rock, they explained to him as drawn from the name of a person, and they conducted him to a chamber in the rock three-fourths of a mile away, called Beit Hajar ("house of Hagar"). These last statements rest on the authority of Mr. Rowlands. Our Arabs did not belong in the country, and they gave us only the name Muweileh; nor did we encounter other Arabs of whom to inquire. Mr. Palmer mentions no such information, although alluding to the theory. Still further inquiries evidently need to be made in the region before accepting or positively rejecting this theory. Not having the precise form of Mr. Rowlands's statement then before me, and encountering no resident Arab anywhere in the vicinity, I failed to gain the needed information.

At our camp I had communicated to Suleimán our intention to turn southward from the regular route in order to visit the Ain Gadis, or Kades, which Mr. Rowlands visited, and which Mr. Palmer also describes. The description given by the latter does not affirm that he visited the place, and his map shows that he did not; while his description both of

this and of a supposed Ain Gudeirat (found also in Robinson's map) shows that for once he is at fault, and was apparently misinformed.² Indeed, Sheikh Suleimán not only objected to taking us there, but said, whether truly or falsely, that he had refused to conduct Mr. Palmer thither, and that he was angry. We insisted on going, and Suleimán as steadily objected. The subject was repeatedly alluded to, and we steadily told him that we were going there, whether he wished or not. As we moved on our way, we reminded him once or twice of our intention, and inquired whether we had not reached the place to turn off. We got no satisfactory answer, except that we had not reached the track; and we remained in suspense as to his intention, but determined to enforce our demand.

At length, much to our relief, just after passing Ain Muweileh, he turned abruptly to the right, due east, while the caravan went directly forward. We entered almost at once into Wady Gadis. Here were numerous camels of the Terabin Arabs feeding, but no owner in sight. One of the camels had a young one with her. Sheikh Suleimán dismounted, came to us for dishes, and after helping himself brought us three foaming tumblers of camel's milk. It was good sweet milk, but not as rich as ordinary cow's milk, probably because of poorer food. From the description of Rowlands and from the maps, we had expected a journey of three or four hours before arriving at Ain Gadis. But, to our surprise, a journey of one hour and five minutes from Muweileh brought us unexpectedly to what the sheikh said all the Arabs knew as Ain Gadis. On this point we made repeated and particular inquiry. Even in 1807 Seetzen mentions "Wady el Kdeis," two and a half hours south of

² Desert of the Exodus, p. 350.

Wady Ain, though he saw only its western edge, where there were tamarisks and a bank of sand. The wady itself in which we were extends from west to east between four and five miles, continuing a mile beyond where the water is found. It forms a kind of oblong basin, enclosed on both sides by continuous ranges of hills, and terminating at the east abruptly against a still higher mountain range, which runs north and south. At the eastern end of the wady, however, its northern hill-boundary breaks down, and the valley connects here (as indicated in Mr. Palmer's map) with the eastern terminus of Wady el Ain, which curves round first to the north-west and then extends more nearly due west, almost parallel to Wady Gadis, beyond the high separating ridge. The water that is found here would thus seem to be that which flows from the higher strata all around and meets in this basin.

We first came to a place where there were three excavations in the sandy soil, each about seven feet in diameter, containing water to the depth of two feet. Around these were several smaller holes, some two feet in diameter, also containing water. Going due east, we passed for several rods through a marsh filled with reeds and rushes, where in several places we crossed narrow channels of standing water. To the right at this point a spur of rock projected north-westerly from the southern embankment of the wady, and the water came out of this spur in moderate quantities and flowed down a series of stair-like ledges into the wady. This, however, could have been but one of the sources of supply.

Passing through the marshy land, we came to a rather higher level of sandy soil, and found, somewhat widely scattered, nine of the larger and two of the smaller excavations now opened. In most of them the water had been rendered

dirty by camels, but wherever it stood in a clean place it was clear and good. The reedy portion of the ground we estimated at four or five acres, all more or less pervaded with water, which appeared on or near the surface; and over a large space of the higher sandy soil it was evidently only a question of convenience where to scoop a hole and find water. The Arabs told us that over a circle which they indicated in a general way, and which comprised many acres, wherever you dig you find water. The holes are of a transient character, dug some four feet deep only, and the water stood in them about two feet deep. In one place I saw the water running out of a slight bank on the edge of a higher platform, and flowing into the rushes below. The flow was from the east, as though from the high mountain in that direction.

The extent of space throughout which water could be found must have rendered this a very important place. So it appeared to be from the camel-marks around, although at present water was found also in Wady el Ain. The importance of the locality is increased by its proximity to Ain Muweileh. The fertility of the immediate neighborhood, presently to be mentioned, greatly increases its importance, and makes the region a notable place.

It will be seen that this locality does not conform to Rowlands's specification ("twelve miles from Muweileh"); but his narrative shows looseness of statement, both in description of places and in estimates of distances, and contains no indications of a journal or a record made on the spot. Indeed, none of the places mentioned by Rowlands along this region could be identified from his statements of distances, which are often many miles out of the way. But it seems clear that he describes, with some enthusiastic coloring, the very fountain which we found. There was "a large single

mass, or small hill of solid rock, a spur of the mountain to the north [east?] of it rising immediately above it," out of which came a "lovely stream," forming "pretty little cascades as it descends into the channel of a rain-torrent beneath, along a green slope. The stream when it reaches the channel turns westward, and after running about three or four hundred yards, loses itself in the sand." The rock-spur is the "only *visible* naked rock in the whole region." With the single exception of the point of compass—an error which I found myself committing at first—and with a modification, perhaps, of the statement that this was the "only" visible naked rock, all the circumstances form a description of what we saw, as exact as the nature of his style would admit. It will also be seen that neither the description, nor the distance, nor the place, corresponds to Mr. Palmer's description, but his map shows he did not visit it, as Suleimán also testified. But the wady is certainly the one which his map shows, and it connects with Wady el Ain, into which we passed from Gadis, as his map indicates. Furthermore, it was the express, reiterated testimony of Suleimán that this was known to all the Arabs as Ain Gadis. It was the most abundant water-supply that we found between Nukhl and Beer-sheba. Moreover, there certainly was no other place of the kind several miles east in this wady, for the wady itself terminates against the sharp high mountain range, forming a complete barrier without an outlet east and south, and we followed it to its termination. The only outlet was the one through which we passed at the north-east angle into Wady el Ain. I was the more particular in inquiring and observing with great care, because I was so disappointed in my expectations as to be suspicious of some possible mistake.

Another mistake we were forced to correct on the spot—

the supposed existence of an Ain Gudeirat in Wady el Ain. Dr. Robinson,³ in speaking of Rowlands's discovery, thinks that he evidently mistook Ain Gudeirat in Wady el Ain for what he calls Ain Gadis, or Kades, and Mr. Palmer⁴ repeats the suggestion. From Ain Gadis we followed the wady east thirty-five minutes to within a short distance of the abrupt Magráh mountain range, finding no other fountain and no running water; and then we turned north, entering almost at once into Wady el Ain. Near the point of transition we came upon a watercourse running north-westerly, and in it there was standing rain-water, occupying a space about seventy feet long by three feet wide, and in the deepest places not more than two feet deep. There was no running stream. The Arabs said that there was another similar pool a little farther down, but no fountain here or anywhere in the wady, and that this would be dry in a month. I inquired very fully into the matter, and received uniformly the same answers. In fact, the wady commenced abruptly at the mountain range, not half a mile to the right of us. As from that point we followed the wady for a long distance, indeed almost to its end, and much of the time in the water-bed, I can speak with some confidence on the subject.

Neither Dr. Robinson nor Mr. Palmer claims to have seen this fountain Gudeirat, nor, so far as I can learn, does any other traveller. Rowlands mentions, but does not pretend to have seen, the springs "Adeirat and Aseimeh, sometimes called Kadeirat and Kaseimeh," but in the opposite direction, "to the *west* of Kades," and the Wady el Arish succeeds in the same line. Dr. Robinson evidently gives as information received by him the somewhat vague state-

³ Researches, i. 189 ; ii. 194.

⁴ The Desert of the Exodus, p. 350.

ment that "beyond the eastern mountain [Muweileh?] at some distance is a large fountain, with sweet running water, named Ain el Kudeirat, but more usually called simply El Ain. From it a wady, also called El Ain, runs off toward the north, and, sweeping round north-west through a tract of open country, goes to join the Arish." As Dr. Robinson passed here so far west as neither to see the fountain of Muweileh, which he casually mentions as "brackish water," nor this of Gadis, nor Birein, nor this supposed Kudeirat, his account lacks the usual weight of his personal knowledge.

Wady Ain throughout its length was covered with verdure and fragrant flowers, and lined with wheat-fields. We estimated that there were sixty acres of continuous fields of wheat, well advanced, in the wady, and in this and Gadis probably four hundred camels. After following Wady el Ain a little more than an hour, near the junction with Wady Darnah we saw some thirty black Arab tents, and passed several donkeys loaded with water-skins which had been filled from below. The donkey indicated a new stage of progress. The wady at length swung round from north-west to west, as it gradually faded out into a rolling region, and we continued our course nearly north-north-east for an hour and ten minutes, then north-north-west two and a half hours, to the summit of Magráh el Birein. Crossing Wady Darnah, as it comes in from the east, we found it a green carpet. Here, to appearance, there might be a passage through the ridge of Jebel Magráh directly east. After a while, on a rising ground, we came to a number of holes about three feet in diameter, which we were told were for storing wheat and barley. We crossed Wady Dizah, and at twenty-five minutes past two began to ascend a long slope, reaching the highest point at three o'clock. Here were

stone cairns, large and small, on each side of the way and on the hill-tops, and we continued to pass them for at least three-quarters of an hour. The height was called Magráh el Birein, and from it we could look down on Birein, lying somewhat south of west, green with vegetation, and especially with grain. It took fifty minutes more, descending at first a long and steep declivity, to reach our camp at the wells of Birein. Our path from Muweileh had been several miles east of that followed by other travellers, from Russegger and Robinson to Palmer, making a detour some five miles directly east, and then leading another hour east of north, afterward north-west, and then for nearly an hour a little south of west. Robinson had passed even west of Birein, and Russegger still farther west. Bonar and Strauss do not allude to Birein. Palmer visited and described the place. The more western route, according to the accounts of these travellers, showed signs of the same comparative fertility and former occupancy as that which we travelled. It was on the fourth day from Nukhl that Strauss observed remains of earlier walls and terraces, that indicated a later encroachment of the desert. Bonar also found stone circles and double lines, like foundation-walls, in Wady Jaifeh, ruins of considerable extent in Wady Ain, lines of solid walls three hundred yards long across Wady Seram, to form levels for cultivation, and remarked the increasing vegetation and the beginnings of cultivation along this part of the way. Robinson, a little beyond El Ain, began to mark the patches of wheat and barley on both sides of his way. It is characteristic of the change manifest throughout this region. At the wady, although he crossed it far west, he found the watercourse "bordered with grass, daisies, and other small flowers, most refreshing to the eye after so long abstinence. Indeed, we had found to-day more vegetation

in the desert than in all the way from Egypt." After crossing the watercourse we came upon a broad patch of tolerably fertile soil, capable of tillage, apparently once cultivated. Across the whole tract the remains of low stone walls were visible. We afterward saw many such walls, which were obviously not constructed by the present race of Arab inhabitants, but must be referred back to an earlier period. Bonar first heard near here the hum of a bee, Robinson saw a lark, and Russegger shot two stone-chats. Palmer mentions the "innumerable" primeval remains on the hill-tops around the mouth of Wady el Ain, the sowing-fields in it, the dams extending across it, and even two caves excavated in the vicinity; and a little farther on, in Wady Seram, an "immense number of ruins belonging to the stone period, covering all the surrounding hills."

Here is the place to say a few words on the controverted question of the connection of the fountain Ain Gadis and the wady of the same name with the Scripture Kadesh. Since the suggestion by Mr. Rowlands that this was the place, made in 1842 and accepted by Williams, the view has been adopted by persons so eminent as Tuch, Winer, Kurtz, Keil, Kalisch, Knobel, Fries, Schultz, and lately Palmer. Ritter was doubtful, and Dr. Robinson opposed the opinion with more than his usual ardor, advocating the claims of Ain el Weibeh. Robinson's site has been somewhat generally acquiesced in, although Stanley advocates the claims of Petra.⁵ One or two other places have been mentioned; but the main discussion lies between the two places first indicated. Some have suggested, more or less positively, that there were two places mentioned in the Pentateuch bearing the same name, one in connection with the earlier portion

⁵ Sinai and Palestine, pp. 94-96.

of the history, during the life of Abraham, and the other after the Exodus. This expedient to escape a difficulty is, however, too indolent a device, and is itself beset with too many objections to gain much firm approval. The whole question, however, is invested with difficulties. We may at once recognize the description of Mr. Rowlands as somewhat overdrawn, his location confused, and his confidence excessive.

Various indications of the locality have been drawn from the Scriptures, some of which are too general, or too undetermined, to aid in solving the question; some have been apparently misapplied, and a few are serviceable.

Among the points urged by Robinson and others, the following are too general and indecisive:—1. That Kadesh was in the wilderness of Paran, and also of Zin (Numb. xiii. 21; xx. 1; xxxiii. 36). If the wilderness be understood, as many hold with probability (*e. g.*, Baungarten, Delitzsch, Keil)⁶ to be a wide term for the whole desert region south of the South Country, and the wilderness of Zin to designate a specific part of it (which seems as probable as any view), this description would apply equally to the two places in question. 2. It was in “the uttermost” part of the border of Edom (Numb. xx. 16). The expression (literally, “on the edge of the border”) is too wholly indefinite to carry weight. It would accord with the Oriental vagueness of expression, even if Gadis were Kadesh, would have an air of compliment for the king of Edom, and would be the more applicable if the king of Edom asserted a kind of authority, like an Arab ruler, over the region west. It was not on the border, but “on the edge of the border.” 3. Kadesh was on low ground; for the spies “went up” to search the land (Numb.

⁶ See Keil's Commentary on Joshua x. 41.

xiii. 21, 22); and the land was "the mountain" (xiii. 17; cf. xiv. 40, 42, 44, 45). "The mountain" (in xiii.) is clearly the mountainous regions of Palestine; for the spies were to go (not "southward," but) to the "south country, and into the mountain and see the land," which they virtually explored from the wilderness of Zin to the neighborhood of Hamath on the north, they having been gone some forty days. The reference in Numbers xiv. is to another thing—a mountain or "hill-top" near, in the vicinity of Hormah. There is an eminence—more than one indeed—between Gadis and the place where Mr. Palmer would find Zephath or Hormah. In the East, too, a "going up" is not necessarily to higher ground, but to some eminent place or region, as in the "Anabasis," and even the going up (Luke ii. 42) from Nazareth to Jerusalem.

Some unsupported statements have been made concerning the site of Kadesh:—1. That it was north of Mount Hor. But the references given in the "Speaker's Commentary" (Numb. xx. 21, 22; Deut. ii. 8) do not appear to warrant the assertion. 2. That it was but one day's march from Mount Hor. But the reference here, again (Numb. xx. 22), neither contains nor clearly implies any such statement.

Among the marks that may help to determine the question may be enumerated the following:—1. Kadesh, besides giving name to a region of the wilderness, was a city (Numb. xx. 16). Dr. Robinson candidly says of El Weibeh, "The surrounding desert has long since resumed its rights, and all traces of the city have disappeared. We could find even no traces of former dwellings." But the region around Gadis, as I have already mentioned, abounds in old ruins, especially westward toward Muweileh. Mr. Palmer infers, partly from the "extent of the remains," that near Muweileh was the site of a large and prosperous city.

2. Kadesh was apparently a place occupied by the Israelites for a considerable time. The spies were sent out from it in the second year; the first expedition against the Canaanites went thence; they "abode in Kadesh many days" (Deut. i. 46). In the fortieth year they came and "abode in Kadesh" (Numb. xx. 1). Miriam died here, and Israel finally marched hence to Mount Hor and compassed Edom (Numb. xx. 22; xxi. 4). Dr. Robinson's remark seems quite to undervalue the place when he says, "There is nothing which shows Kadesh ever to have been a place of any size or importance, except in connection with the journeyings of the Israelites."⁷ Much more to the purpose is Mr. Porter's statement. He remarks that "next to Sinai it was the most important stage in their journeyings, and the scene of the most remarkable events."⁸ Now as to the places themselves, Dr. Robinson's narrative shows that El Weibeh and the whole vicinity was destitute of all signs of fertility or cultivation. He saw verdure around a fountain two hours south, and below Ain el Weibeh "a jungle of coarse grass and canes, with a few palm-trees, presenting at a distance the appearance of fine verdure, but proving near at hand to be marshy and full of bogs." And on leaving the fountain he entered at once among chalk-stone and conglomerate "hills without a particle of vegetation." On the other hand, it has been sufficiently indicated how different is the region adjacent to Gadis. It is on the borders of a region of comparative fertility, where to-day the Arabs raise large fields of grain.

3. There are indications that some kind of sanctity attached to Kadesh. It is *Kadesh* ("sacred"); it is En Mishpat ("the fountain of judgment"). There is no foundation

⁷ Researches, ii. 584.

⁸ Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia, ii. 703.

even for a suspicion that such notions have ever attached themselves to El Weibeh; and it would be somewhat remarkable that every trace of such sanctity should disappear, traditional or monumental. But it is noticeable that in the near neighborhood of Gadis (about Muweileh) are not only the primeval remains already mentioned, but that some of them are of a peculiar kind. Says Mr. Palmer, "The hills around Muweileh are covered with relics of a primeval people—cairns and dwellings such as we have noticed elsewhere, and, strangest of all, innumerable well-made heaps of stone, placed with extreme regularity along the edges of the cliffs, always facing east. They are too small for tombs, and too far apart ever to have formed a wall: what then could they be? I am inclined to the idea that they are, in some way or other, connected with the worship of Baal; the altars of the Sun-god were, like these, on 'high places,' and would naturally be turned, like these, toward the east." These remains are not more than three miles west of the fountain, and it may be that they can be found at nearer points. While I would not place too much reliance on the suggestion, yet in the one case there is not only the absence of all indications, but of all probability, of such sacred associations; in the other there are appearances which, at least, harmonize with the supposition.

4. At Kadesh was a noted fountain, En Mishpat. Both places have fountains, and Dr. Robinson speaks of El Weibeh as "to this day the most frequented watering-place in all the Arabah." There are three fountains there, of which, however, Dr. Robinson himself informs us that "the water is not abundant, and in the two northernmost sources has a sickly hue, with a taste of sulphuretted hydrogen. But the southern source consists of three small rills of limpid and good water, flowing out at a small excavation in the rock."

In the vicinity, one and a half or two hours away, he mentions "a small spring of bad water" in Wady el Ghamr, and another place (El Hufeiry) in Wady Jeib, apparently not far away, "where water is found by digging holes in the ground, is scanty, and fails in the summer." So far, then, as the water-supply itself is concerned, Ain Gadis, especially when re-enforced by Muweileh and the rain-water collections of Wady el Ain, would seem to have greatly the advantage in importance.

5. When we inquire for any indication in the traditional name, Dr. Robinson mentions expressly that "all traces of the city and *of its very name* have passed away." But the connection between Kadesh and Gadis is as close as in almost any Hebrew and Arabic names now identified by modern scholars. Dr. Robinson, in a manner not characteristic of his usual method, remarks, that out of the name of Ain Kudeirat in a neighboring valley "Mr. Rowlands, or his Greek dragoman, seems to have made Kades or Kudes, and on the strength of this blunder assumed there the site of Kadesh."⁹ Mr. Porter repeats the statement.¹⁰ But Mr. Palmer speaks Arabic like a native, and he gives the name Gadis. Our dragoman was an Arabic-speaking Syrian, and he on the spot gave us the name; and we heard it from the lips of Suleimán, the sheikh, who definitely declared this fountain to be known to all the Arabs as Ain Gadis. There is, therefore, no mistake as to the name, though apparently some confusion as to locality.

6. The relations of Kadesh to the residence of Abram and the journey of Hagar bear upon the question. (I assume but one Kadesh.) Hagar was "in the way to Shur,"

⁹ Researches, second edition, ii. 194, note. Also Bibliotheca Sacra, May, 1849, pp. 378, 379.

¹⁰ Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia, ii. 703.

and "between Bered and Kadesh" (Gen. xvi. 7, 14). Gadis, as has been seen, lies just east of and very close to the regular route from Palestine to Egypt. It is hard to conceive that, in locating a well on that route, a point should be specified more than fifty miles to the east of it, as El Weibeh is. Again, Abraham "dwelt between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar." Here, again, Kadesh lies apparently somewhere in the direction of Egypt from Hebron. The situation is still further defined by saying that he sojourned in Gerar. This last-mentioned region, though ill-defined, was by general concession, from a combination of all the intimations, somewhere south or south-west of Beer-sheba, and is thought by some to have extended as far south probably as the wilderness. Though its extent is wholly uncertain, the direction is certainly in conflict with the acceptance of El Weibeh. The main difficulty in regard to Gadis is, that its distance south seems too great.

7. The relation to Zephath, or Hormah, has been brought into the account. The Israelites, on their attempt to enter Palestine, were routed and driven back as far as Hormah, previously called Zephath (Judg. i. 17; Numb. xiv. 40-45, xxi. 1-3; Deut. i. 41-44). It is noticeable, and shows the vagueness of designations, that the Amalekites and Canaanites (cf. Numb. xiv.) are generalized as the Amorites in Deuteronomy.) Now, Robinson would find this city of Zephath at the steep pass Es Sufah, eight or nine hours north-west of El Weibeh. He remarks on the substantial identity of name, while the distance and direction would answer well, and the pass would be a spot for a military struggle. But, unfortunately, he could learn of no ruins for a distance of an hour and a half. And, furthermore, there could have been no chance for a city here. Robinson could not even encamp anywhere near the pass, for "there was neither

wood for a fire, nor pasture for the camels:" the country beyond was "one of the wildest and most broken we had yet seen," and he was compelled, though late at night, to go one and a half hours farther to find a place for the camp. Moreover, the children of Israel were not chased from Hormah, but *to* Hormah.

But there is also a name yet remaining five or six hours north of Gadis, that corresponds still more closely to Zephath, viz., Sebaita. Seetzen first heard of it in 1807,¹¹ and Palmer explored the place in 1869. Here are abundant remains of a goodly city presently to be more fully described. The present remains are shown, by the ruins of at least one large church and by the masonry of the houses, to belong to times since the Christian era. But the church (or churches) may itself indicate a historic site, and the place and vicinity admits of cities—indeed, is in a region of ancient cities—and there are plenty of hills, especially north-east, where the conflict could take place.

It should be said that Hormah and also a "Kadesh" are enumerated (Judg. xv. 23–30) among "the uttermost cities of Judah, toward the coast of Edom southward;" but as the list includes twenty-nine cities, the designation of direction must certainly be vague, and the force of the argument for a south-easterly direction is wholly neutralized by the fact that among those twenty-nine is Beer-sheba, in the same direction from Hebron as Ain Gadis.

8. The geographical situation of Kadesh casts some light on the question. It was south both of Palestine and of the South Country, and on the edge of the desert (Numb. xxxiv. 4; Josh. x. 41; xv. 3; cf. Ezek. xlvii. 19; xlviii. 28). It

¹¹ Reisen, iii. 44. Robinson heard of no such place (Bibliotheca Sacra, 1849, p. 378), and says that Rowlands heard no such name as Sepata," that particular form being "impossible in Arabic."

has been asserted¹² that Kadesh lay "toward the eastern extremity" of this boundary. But the references show to the contrary. The second passage, indeed, says that Joshua smote them from Kadesh-Barnea even unto Gaza, which, while clearly locating Kadesh eastward or south-eastward of Gaza, does not place it upon "the eastern extremity of the south border." All the other passages not only imply the contrary, but, so far as we can judge, correspond rather remarkably to the region of Gadis. They most distinctly place Kadesh well to the west, toward the "river of Egypt and the sea." Thus, in Numbers xxxiv. 3-5 (as translated in the "Speaker's Commentary"), "Your south border shall extend from the wilderness of Zin, which resteth upon the side of Edom. And your south border shall start from the extremity of the salt sea on the east; and your border shall turn on the south to Maaleh Akrabbim [probably Nugb Kareb, ten miles above Maderah], and shall pass on toward Zin; and the extent of its reach on the south shall be to Kadesh-Barnea, and it shall reach forth thence to Hazar-Addar, and shall pass on to Azmon; and from Azmon the border shall turn to the river of Egypt, and its reach shall be to the sea." No uncertainties in regard to some details can hide the indications that Kadesh was well to the west, toward the river of Egypt. The description in Joshua xv. 2-4, is very similar. In Ezekiel xlvi. 28, it is set forth more briefly, but with the same implication, "At the south side southward, the border should be even from Tamar unto the waters of strife in Kadesh, and to the river toward the great sea;" a description certainly much more intelligible on the supposition that Kadesh was at Gadis than at El Weibeh. The situation of Gadis with reference to the desert remarkably con-

¹² Smith's Old Testament History, p. 194.

forms. It was on the parallel of Wady el Ain that Seetzen was told by his Arabs that here begins the mountain range called by the Arabs Et Tih. Gadis is just south of this line.

9. The distance from Mount Sinai corresponds. It is given (Deut. i. 2) thus: "There are eleven days' journey from Horeb by way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-Barnea." Now there are clear traces of two ancient routes as old as Roman times, and no doubt far older, from Akaba north-west toward Gaza and Hebron; one given in the Pentinger tables passing just west of Jebel Araif, and thus close by Gadis to Birein, etc.; the other east of Jebel Araif by Abdeh (Ebo-da) to Khalasah, or Elusa.¹³ The Children of Israel are generally supposed to have gone from Sinai to Akaba and thence northward. Now Mr. Palmer has fairly shown the general correspondence of time according to the Pentinger tables thus: the first day to Kibroth-Hattaavah, the second to Hazeroth (supposed Ain Hudherah), four days made by the modern traveller to Elath (Akaba), the seventh to Ezion-Gaber (Diana of Pentinger), the eighth to Rasa of Pentinger (unknown), the ninth to Contellet Garaiyeh (supposed Gypsaria), the tenth to Lussán (Lysa), the eleventh to Ain Gadis. The distance by the eastern route, striking the line followed by Palmer in his second expedition, would very nearly correspond. The time to El Weibeh would seem to be somewhat short.

It may be said there is no passage through by this eastern route to Gadis. But the eastern route to Lussán passed through the dividing mountain range a little north-east of Birein. Moreover, the aspect of the region north-east of Wady Ain, and south-east and north-east of Sebaita, indi-

¹³ Desert of the Exodus, pp. 421, 422.

cated a comparatively easy access. This will show how it was possible for them to come in contact with King Arad and be driven back by him (Numb. xxi. 1-3).

The relations of Mount Seir and of Edom have been considered somewhat decisive as against this view. The journey is mentioned as "by way of Seir" (Deut. i. 2). Hormah is enumerated as among the cities toward Edom (Josh. xv. 21, 30), and the Amorites destroyed the Israelites even unto Hormah (Deut. i. 44). But a glance at the various passages will justify the opinion that the territory of Edom and the region of Mount Seir have been much too strictly defined and narrowed. Geographical lines, especially in a new and strange region, were sufficiently loose, as is evident from the constant intermingling of the designations of tribes and territories. It may reasonably be supposed that then, as now, in the same country, the tribal claims and control extended over a wide range, and embraced large regions beyond what the cities and villages occupied. Thus the Tiyahah Arabs claim a vast region of desert, and suffer no other tribe to interfere with their rights within these precincts.

Now I think it is somewhat apparent, from the passages in question, that both Edom and Seir, and Mount Seir, cover a wide extent. It is evident at once that Seir is not a single mountain or mountain chain, but a region capable of holding a population. For "the children of Edom dwelt in Seir" (Deut. ii. 4, 8), and the "Horim dwelt in Seir before-time," but the children of Edom "destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead" (ver. 12). The Amorites destroyed the Israelites "*in Seir* unto Hormah" (Deut. i. 44). Now whatever site is fixed upon for Hormah carries it into a region west of the Arabah. So, too, among the twenty-nine cities of Judah, toward the coast of Edom, southward, was Beersheba (Josh. xv. 28). These facts indicate a wide range of

Edom and Seir, westward of the Arabah. Seetzen wrote, in 1802, that the Wady el Ain (as already stated) was specified by his Sheikh Sibbens as the commencement of the mountain range of Et Tih. He adds, "Well defined as are its southern limits by its steep declivity, its northern boundary is ill-defined; one comes gradually upon this mountain range without being aware of it. I hold it [this mountain range of Et Tih] to be Seir, about which the Israelites journeyed from Sinai to Kadesh-Barnea, on the southern extremity of Palestine."¹⁴

This fact removes all objection to the location of Kadesh as far west as Gadis, as it would then be only in the general direction of Beer-sheba. The way to Kadesh from Horeb by Seir, even if this shows certainly that Israel travelled that way, might still be by the pass of En Nugb, in the Arabah, and thence north-west, nearly on the track and in the time of Robinson (four days) to Gadis, near the line of the western Roman road; or farther north, by Wady Ghamr and Nugb Ibn Mar, over Palmer's track and the eastern Roman road in part, thence nearly west. Indeed, when Robinson left El Weibeh, still farther north, he saw a great track leading almost due west, in a direction but slightly north of Gadis, a track of which his Arabs could give him no account.¹⁵ This extension of Seir and Edom would make easy a supposed difficulty concerning the march of the kings in Genesis xiv. They clearly took a very wide sweep. Passing down east of the Dead Sea, through Ashteroth Karnaim, Ham, Kiriathaim, thence through Mount Seir unto El Parar which is "*by the wilderness.*" Thence on this wide circuit they returned (by another route) and came to En Mishpat, which is Kadesh, and smote all the country of the Amalek-

¹⁴ Reisen, iii. 48.

¹⁵ Researches, ii. 584, 585.

ites, and also the Amorites, which dwell in Hazezon-Tamar, or Engedi. This march through the whole country of the Amalekites would comport quite as well with the location of Kadesh at Gadis as at El Weibeh, and indeed much better, as Fries and Kurtz have shown.

I refrain from endeavoring to identify by means of the mountains of the Amorites, because this nation seems to have been so widely scattered. Yet Mr. Palmer calls attention to the frequently recurring names, "Amir," "Ameri," "Amerin," along the region north of Gadis, as relics of the old name. It may be said that the distance of Gadis was too far south to harmonize with the relation of the place to Abram's residence. On the other hand, it will be remembered that the spies were absent forty days from Kadesh in exploring Palestine to Hamath (Numb. xiii. 25).

On the whole, while it is necessary to be cautious in reaching conclusions when many of the data are so vague, and while it may be that Kadesh was some point still farther north, it will be seen that there is very slight reason for fixing *definitely* upon El Weibeh; almost nothing, indeed, except a bitter though not copious supply of water. On the other hand, several of the reasons for accepting the other site are somewhat definite and specific; while the whole vicinity around and beyond would offer a far more probable spot for an abode of "many days," and would be more likely to bring Israel into conflict with the enemy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

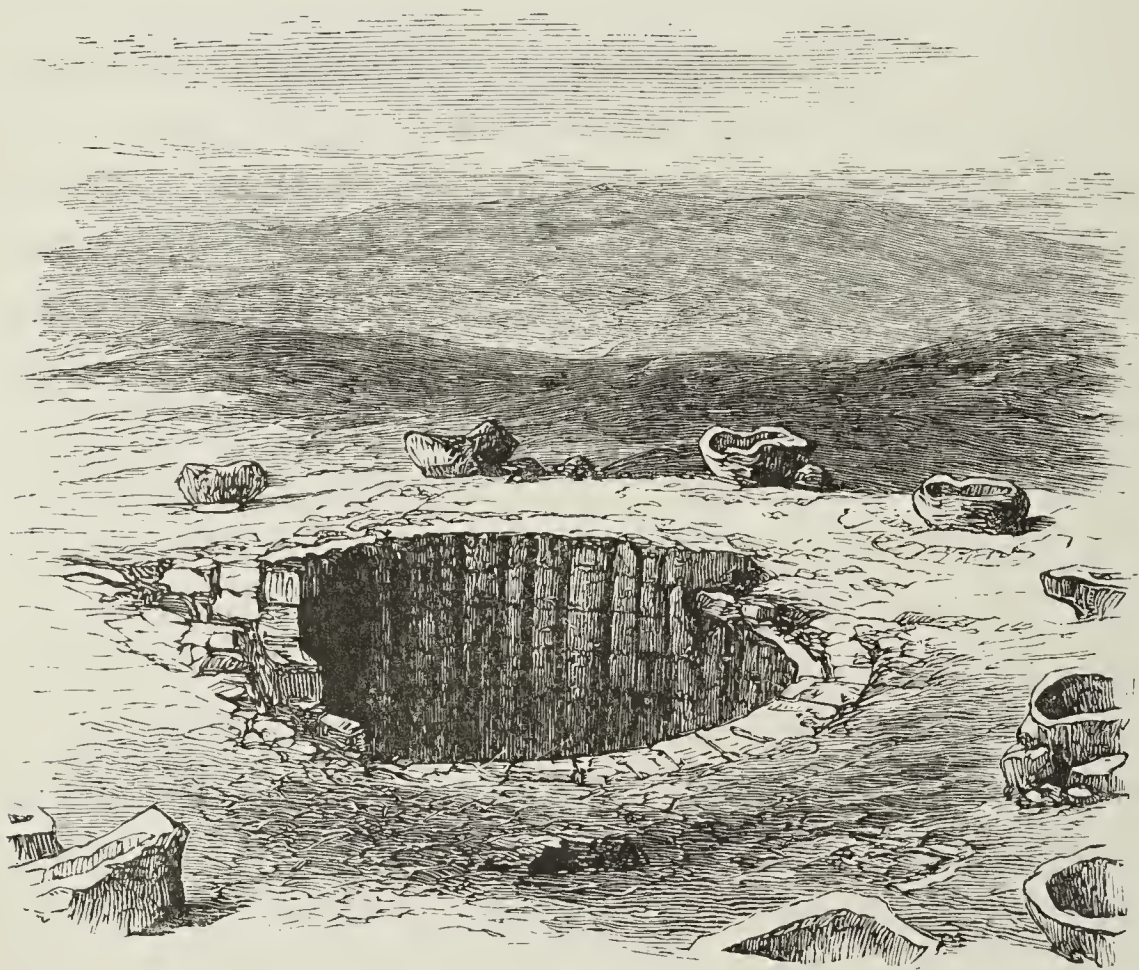
THROUGH THE SOUTH COUNTRY TO BEER-SHEBA.

WE were comfortably, and even delightfully, situated at Birein. It is a very inviting valley, with a high rocky hill or ridge on the north, and another on the south. Our tents were for the first time pitched in a genuine and heavy greensward. A little to the east of us were the two wells. The smaller, which was stoned, was six feet in diameter, appeared to be somewhat over twenty feet in depth, and contained some eight feet of excellent water. Stone troughs stood around. The larger well had its stone wall broken away and fallen half the way round. Its diameter was about twelve feet. On the whole unbroken side were deep marks of ropes. But the Arabs now descend on the broken side and dip directly into the water. Everything goes to ruin in an Arab's hands. Some women came with donkeys and other animals, and poured water for them into the stone troughs. One woman came, followed by a flock of sheep and goats; first the sheep and then the goats. Here we also saw two horses and a colt—another disclosure of the change from the desert.

Sheikh Suleimán seemed to be in an excessively bad humor, first with his camel and afterward with us. His camel was afraid of something, or in some way refractory; and for twenty minutes the sheikh rode the animal furiously hither and thither, with occasional beatings, till either the camel or his own passion was subdued. In the evening he made

his appearance at my tent, and in a long talk remonstrated against all our detours from the direct route. I finally told him that we had come for this purpose, arranged with the dragoman for it, and that we should most assuredly do it according to our own pleasure. He hopped out of the tent like an angry child.

As we arrived before four o'clock, I had a long time to explore the vicinity. There were very numerous remains of



BEER-SHEBA.

rude round stone buildings on the hill-sides and hill-tops near. On the summit of the northern hill, on its northern edge, was a line of low stone wall, eight hundred feet long, terminating with a circular cairn at the abrupt western declivity. South of this were very numerous circular enclosures. The whole surface was too stony ever to have been cultivated. I scared up two partridges on the hill-top. On

the southern side of the valley, nearly opposite the wells, are ruins of houses, and on the hill-side, of a square building and a tower.

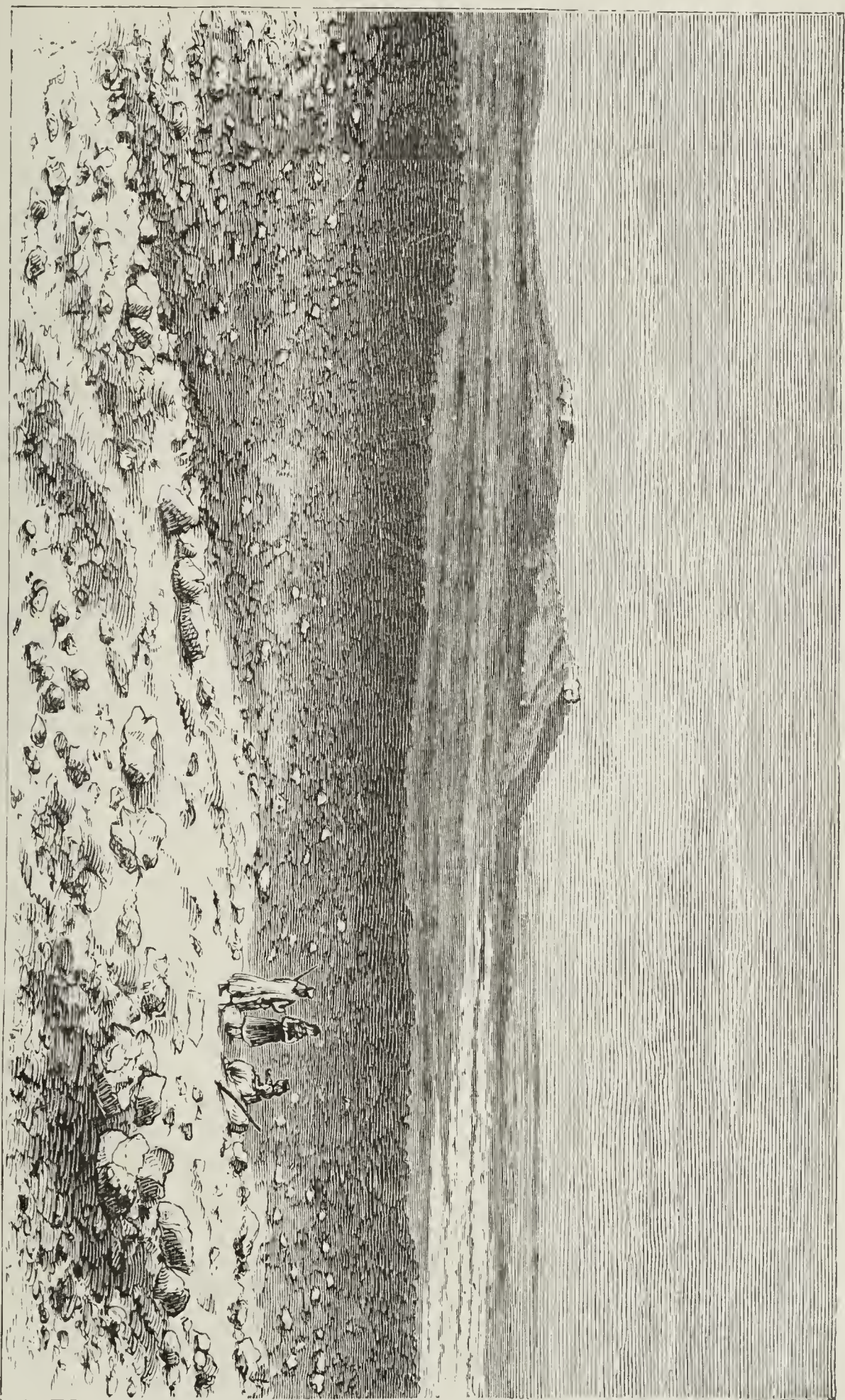
This whole wady (as well as Wady Um Ebteimeh that enters it) was once terraced for cultivation. An aqueduct, a foot and a half wide, laid in mortar or cement, leads from the walls easterly to a reservoir built of squared stones. Marks of ancient occupancy are visible all around. Robinson passed half a day's journey west of this place, but found water in several pits dug in a bed of blue clay. Russegger, Bonar, and travellers generally, seem to have left Birein to the east of them. Mr. Palmer visited and examined the place carefully.

We left our delightful camping-ground at Birein at eight o'clock, March 12th. Our conversation with Sheikh Suleimán the night before had chiefly concerned our intention to visit Sebaita to-day. He doggedly objected to turning off from the direct route, and almost refused. We resolutely told him that we had come from America on purpose to visit this, among other places, and see it we would. We awaited the result with some solicitude. We found this morning that the matter was settled, although he was not in a very good humor.

Our route for two and a half hours was the same as that of the loaded camels, north-westerly. We passed over the heavy stone walls that ran across Wady Birein to convert it into a series of levels for cultivation and to arrest the rush of water, and observed the remains of numerous round, rude stone dwellings. After a little, we entered Wady Hanein, a spacious plain extending several miles north-west and south-east, and some two or three miles broad at its widest part. We crossed it diagonally. In forty minutes after leaving Birein we came upon long lines of stones, forming

great level flats for cultivation. The whole plain seemed thus laid out, and was evidently once all under careful and laborious cultivation. At nine o'clock we were in the latitude of El Aujeh, which rose on our left a high limestone ridge, with conspicuous ruins on the top of it, clearly visible with our glasses already at the distance of two miles. The ridge was nearly a hundred feet in height, and terminated with an abrupt descent at both the northern and southern ends. At a distance the ruins had the appearance of fortifications on the two extremities. This place had first been mistaken by Seetzen for Abdeh, or Eboda, he having heard at Hebron of the ruins of Abdeh, and apparently leaped to the conclusion that this, when he saw it, was the place. Dr. Robinson appears to have heard the place called Abdeh, although his maps give both names—El Aujeh and El Abdeh. But Mr. Bonar was distinctly informed of the difference by his Arabs, who called this place El Aujeh, and informed him that El Abdeh was a day's journey to the right. Mr. Palmer settled the question by a visit to the real El Abdeh, or Eboda. The name of this place was given to us by Suleimán simply as El Aujeh.

The high ridge overlooks the broad valley of Hanein, which stretched away to the south-east. The westernmost ruin on its summit is a spacious Greek church, a hundred and twenty feet long, well built of hewn stones, the walls of which are in some places still standing to the height of more than twenty feet, and eight feet thick. Some traces of Greek letters are to be found here. A short distance to the east of it are the remains of a fortress, also built of dressed stones laid with mortar, nearly three hundred feet in length. Outside of it, and perhaps once extending to the brow of the declivity, and the most prominent object seen from a distance, is a massive white wall, twenty-five feet



EL AUJEH.

high, and more than half as thick. Within the area of this second enclosure is a spacious reservoir or grain-pit; and still farther east, on the edge of the precipice, a well, now dry, cut forty feet in the solid rock, and walled up eight feet square, with masonry thirty-five feet more. A huge cavern or quarry cut in the hill-side, Robinson found to be the resort of a multitude of pigeons.

Down on the south-eastern side of the hill, at its foot, lie the ruins of the town, a confused mass of foundations and hewn stones, intermingled with broken pottery. Among them are the apse and some broken columns of another church. Three wells were to be seen here, dry, but one of them in good condition. On the slopes of the hill are seen, for the first time, those rows and heaps of small black stones of which Mr. Palmer seems first to have learned the object, called by the Arabs "grape-mounds." They occur abundantly in this vicinity. Robinson mentions that when he visited the place, one of the Azazimeh Arabs came up and violently scolded his guide for bringing Christians there.

We crossed the valley and rose upon an elevated platform showing long lines of low wall. At twenty-five minutes after nine we came to Wady Zuweileh, where there were two walls four feet thick across the valley, as if to dam the water, and two other single walls. In fifteen minutes we entered a series of wadies, in half an hour more we encountered flocks of sheep and goats, and in another ten minutes turned nearly due east, toward Sebaita. We entered at once Wady Gurusseh, which showed numerous stone walls and cairns, and remains of an old town of considerable extent. In one hour more we crossed the watercourse of Wady Abyadh. At Wady Sidariyeh, which we reached in another hour and twenty minutes, there was a line of stone wall, remains of a dam across the valley, and side-walls,

seemingly to conduct the water down the valley for irrigation. In thirty minutes we came to four successive walls running across the valley, and a little farther on to eleven more. Some of them were very thick and strong. In fifty minutes more we entered Wady Meshrifeh, where there were ten of these dams, longer or shorter, several still extending entirely across the valley. The first was still three feet high, strongly laid with large stones. A line of wall ran down along each side of the valley, probably having served as aqueducts.

At a quarter before two we reached a height from which the plain of Sebaita opened finely on the right, a basin of some three or four miles in diameter, having an opening on the northern side, and another sweeping round apparently to the south-east. The central portion of the valley was full of vegetation, including some grain-crops, and showing abundant scarlet flowers, while the southern slopes were striped with flint "grape-mounds," though not a vine is now within sixty miles. Mr. Palmer, indeed, saw a ruined wine-press between El Aujeh and this place. On the north-eastern and north-western slopes were a great number of walls, some of them as if for reservoirs, eight or ten feet thick, one of them opposite the ruins of the town, northerly, while high up on the north-western side rose the hill Meshrifeh, with its conspicuous fortress-walls. The ancient city lay on the eastern slope of the broad basin before us, although the ruins of many rude stone buildings were nearer at hand.

As we reached the point that commanded the view, Sheikh Suleimán showed or counterfeited marks of fear. He requested one of us to take down the white sun-umbrella with which he was shading his head, and to stop the song wherewith he was beguiling the way. We wound quietly

and rapidly down the long slope and across the basin, till we came to the mass of once well-built houses and other buildings of regular stone-masonry. We took our lunch under the shade of a great sandstone church. The entire building, as I paced it, was externally about two hundred feet long, and the walls stood in many places twenty-five to thirty feet high, though the stone was in some parts crumbled to powder. There was a central apse, another on each side, and a fourth in a large side chapel. This church stood at the northern end of the city. There are remains of two other churches. The houses were well built, largely of dressed stone, most of them apparently consisting of two stories, the upper story being supported by arches below. I examined two specimens of houses so constructed, which were in good preservation. I observed several wells, one of them with a round opening, and now containing water about ten feet below the surface. The chief mass of ruins extended nearly a third of a mile north and south, and half that distance in breadth, while the space around, especially to the north, was covered with less pretentious remains. There are clear traces of the streets, and indications of a line of enclosing walls around the city. This is no doubt the most remarkable collection of ruins in this singular region. It is strange indeed to find it in a place now so deserted. The name was first given by Seetzen as "Sbetha."

About six miles south-east in a direct line, but to be reached apparently only by a circuit on account of intervening hills, lie the ruins of the Roman town of Eboda, or Abdeh. The name had long been known to Seetzen, Robinson, and others, but the place was first visited by Mr. Palmer. We did not visit it. But it may be mentioned that the ruins do not appear to be so well preserved nor so distinctly defined as those of Sebaita. On a high promontory which

overlooks a broad plateau are the remains of a fortress and a small collection of dwellings, built of squared stones, the latter encompassed by a wall. The first contains a large reservoir. Over the door of one of the houses a cross is to be seen. Some other ruins are in the neighborhood, while the plateau around shows signs of cultivation, and grape-mounds abound.

As we moved north from Sebaita, an Arab hailed us to know why we had halted there, and received a saucy answer from our dragoman. We passed by the high hill Meshrifeh, covered with its strong ruined fortress, which, it has been suggested by Palmer, was perhaps the original stronghold of Sebaita, or Hormah, while the name Sebaita itself certainly corresponds very closely to the Zephath of the Scriptures. Meshrifeh contains the remains of a small church, of strong fortress-walls, and of ruder stone buildings, apparently of more primitive date. And though the churches here and at Sebaita, and the coeval architecture, carry us back only to the early centuries of the Christian era, there is no reason for supposing that they represent the earliest occupants of the region, but quite the contrary. The primeval remains throughout the region carry us far back of that time, and these intermediate remains only the more distinctly inform us of the antiquity of the earlier and ruder buildings. It was in this vicinity that Mr. Palmer found the names Dheigat el Amerin ("ravine of the Amorites") and Ras Amir, the former a little north of Sebaita, the latter some fifteen miles south-west. These and similar indications are regarded by him as reminiscences of this as the region designated in the Scriptures, "the mountain of the Amorites."

At Sebaita we passed the northernmost point to which, on any theory, the Israelites attained on their northward march, and were in the region which Joshua conquered only when



RUINED TOWN OF SEBAIA.

he had entered the land near the middle of its eastern border and pushed southward. And while positiveness of assertion is wholly unbecoming where many of the data are so dim, it is yet a satisfaction to be able to find a line of march throughout which weaves in the known facts, explains the history, and is open to no fatal objection. One may be permitted to rest satisfied with such a theory of the case till a better is presented. I will, therefore, briefly state that view of the Exodus and the Wandering which satisfies my own mind, after looking over the field and learning the views that have been held.

The line of march in Egypt has been sufficiently indicated. By almost universal consent, it was first along the eastern line of Wady Tumilat. From Etham, somewhat differently located by different writers, but perhaps north-east of Ismailia, they "turned," and found themselves hemmed in on the western side of the Red Sea or the Gulf of Suez. Here they could cross south-easterly below Suez, and the Wells of Moses would be a natural camping-ground. Marah and Elim fall naturally at Hawwarah and Gharandel. The encampment by the sea is unmistakable and undisputed. Nothing could better answer for the Wilderness of Sin than the oppressively hot plain of El Murkha. Down that plain some twenty-five miles, and up Wady Feiran from its mouth, and only over that route, could the "wagons" have been driven all the way to Sinai. The long weary march there and thence would exhaust their water-supply, and their patience also, while the Amalekite host would naturally seize the opportunity to cut them off before reaching the brook and oasis of Feiran, and thus give occasion for the miracle; and Rephidim may well be found at Hesy el Khattatin and vicinity. The previous stations, Dophka and Alush, we may not attempt to identify. The

next station mentioned after Rephidim is "the desert of Sinai," where, in the third month, they encamped before the mount (Exod. xix. 1, 2), and remained till the second month of the subsequent year. There is no region in the whole Sinaitic peninsula which is so well supplied with water, and which affords such excellent pasturage.¹ From Sinai it becomes more difficult to trace the line of march. But it would be natural that the host should move north-easterly out of Wady Sheikh six miles from Jebel Músa, along the great thoroughfare through Wady Sa'al. The region of Erweis el Ebeirig, with its mysterious remains, its line of passage for great flocks of birds, and its vicinity to Hudherah, might answer to Kibroth-Hattaavah; and the copious spring of Ain Hudherah represents the etymology of Hazeroth. Meanwhile, there is also a parallel route lying northward through wadies Zelegah, Byar, and Ain, also containing water and vegetation, not wholly disconnected from this southern route. Both turn nearly at right angles to the eastern arm of the Red Sea, and follow the coast to Akaba. There is also an easy pass directly from Wady el Ain up to the desert of Et Tih. Or it would have been practicable, apparently, from Wady el Ain to follow a track (that of Baron Koller in 1840) leading north-easterly along the edge of the desert to Akaba. The Scripture leaves here a great blank. For we simply read that they removed from Hazeroth and pitched in the wilderness of Paran (Numb. xii. 16), which proves in the next chapter (xiii. 26) to be Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran; and in the list of stations (Numb. xxxiii. 18) it is recorded that they removed from Hazeroth and pitched in Rithmah. If Rithmah be identified with Wady Retemat (so Fries and Kurtz), the close vicinity of this

¹ F. W. Holland, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 412.

valley ("a wide plain, with shrubs and retem") to Gadis makes it substantially the same place. Some understand that Ezion-Gaber (Numb. xxxiii. 36) was on the route of this *first* journey to Kadesh; others that it was not. Still, it seems clear that the line of march did not lie for any considerable distance up the Arabah, inasmuch as Moses says of this very journey (Deut. i. 19), "When we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness, which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites; and we came to Kadesh-Barnea." Assuming as settled, then, that they crossed the eastern portion of the desert, they would, even if they ascended from Wady Ain, soon strike the route leading from Akaba north-westerly (afterward the line of a Roman road), pass the well of Eth Themed, cross Wady Garaiyeh, go by the Biyar Mayin, or west of Jebel Araif into Wady Mayin, and thence north to Gadis; or a route ascending from the Arabah at Wady Ghadyan (which may be by derivation the same as the Roman Diana and the Hebrew Ezion) would bring them to the same point by Wady Mayin. The distance from the head of the Gulf of Akaba to Retemat was accomplished by Robinson in four days and a half, and may have been traversed by the Israelites without formal encampments. Either this last circumstance or the absence of all noteworthy transactions would account for the absence of the names of intermediate stations. From Kadesh an ill-fated expedition ended with disaster and the arrest of their northward march. Still they "abode at Kadesh many days" (Deut. i. 46); and then, says the narrative (Deut. ii. 1), "we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea; and we compassed Mount Seir many days." Thirty-seven years are otherwise a blank. They lingered at Kadesh—some (Tuch and Kurtz) think that portions of

them never entirely left it. And we may well accept the view of Fries, Kurtz, Schultz, and others, that they spread themselves out widely in various directions, using such means of support as the desert afforded. The "compassing Mount Seir" may indicate their occupancy of the region along the mountain chain south of Kadesh, in the numerous wadies that lie between the spurs of the central range and extend widely on both sides of it. The amount of pasturage in the region west is quite extensive, and the arable land is not inconsiderable, while the numerous ancient remains scattered through the whole region from Wady Garaiyeh northward prove the former presence of a great body of occupants, who may or may not have been the Israelites themselves. It is not necessary to suppose their residence confined to the western side of the mountain range. The narrative seems to imply, and we may understand that, more or less permanently, they were found on the whole line to Ezion-Gaber. They may have occupied wadies Jerafeh, Leyaneh, Talha, Beyaneh, and others, all the way to Wady Ghadyan. The seventeen stations between Kadesh and Ezion-Gaber (Numb. xxxiii. 19-35) are commonly understood to be encampments during this thirty-seven years' wandering. Some have understood that these were simply the head-quarters of Moses, the tribe of Levi, and the tabernacle, which moved about from place to place to accommodate the people. And as this list gives the line only in one direction, southward, a repetition of these or their equivalents for the subsequent return northward, would average about a year to an encampment. Others think, with perhaps less probability, that the whole body of people moved each time with the encampment. Nothing in the narrative absolutely requires this supposition. The other view is thought to be supported by the explicit statements (Numb.





RUINED HOUSES AT SEBAÏTA.

xiii. 26; and xx. 1) that at the commencement and the close of this period "the whole congregation" assembled at Kadesh. Kurtz even calls attention to the difference of the statement in Deuteronomy (i. 46), "*Ye* abode in Kadesh many days," and that in the following verse (ii. 1), "Then *we* turned, and took our journey."

For thirty-seven years and a half, as there was no progress so there is no record. But in the first month of the fortieth year, when the whole congregation was assembled for many days at Kadesh the second time, its very considerable water-supply gave out under the heavy drain of "the congregation and their beasts" (Numb. xx. 1-8), and the lack was met by miracle. The regathering in the place where the ban had been imposed was a token that the ban was taken off. It was the place, too, at or near which the several desert routes converge. The direction from Gadis to Mount Hor is nearly due east. The track would naturally curve round southward by Jebel Araif, unless there be some more direct passage through the mountain range. At Mount Hor, where Aaron died, they probably received the hostile message from Edom, and thence "they journeyed by the way of the Red Sea to compass the land of Edom." Two stations on this track are mentioned (Deut. x. 6, 7), namely, Gudgodah and Jotbath, evidently the same as Hor-hagidgad and Jotbathah (Numb. xxxiii. 32-34), which lay quite near Ezion-Gaber. This determines the line of their march down the west side of the Arabah. The people were naturally "discouraged" by the hard circuitous way before them, and it was somewhere in this region that they were bitten by the fiery serpents. It was on this same track, half a day's journey north of Akaba, that Schubert saw the large dead snake "with *fiery* spots," and evidently belonging to "one of the

most poisonous species.”² The crossing and ascent from the Arabah is supposed naturally to have taken place at Wady Ithro, very near the northern end of the Gulf of Akaba. There they would strike the track that is now travelled, and was formerly a Roman road, leading northward along the eastern side of the Arabah and east of Edom, till it turns west again at the passage of the Jordan. There we again come upon their track.

To resume the narrative of our own journey. About one hour north of Sebaita, we crossed a wady (Negrah) extending far to the right, and afterward a succession of wadies, most of them sprinkled with Bedouin wheat-fields, and very much of the region, before and after, showing signs of former laborious cultivation, similar to those already mentioned. The contrast to the modern Bedouin method was often very striking. The latter neither preserves nor restores. In place of the former strong stone embankments and watercourses, I saw repeatedly where the Arab had, with his miserable plough, just scratched a transient channel along the hill-side, to turn the water from the slopes upon his wheat. As we passed along, three ibexes ran across our path till they stood upon the hill like phantoms, looking down on us for a few moments and then turning and disappearing. A few pigeons also flew by.

About two hours after leaving Sebaita we came to a succession of sandy and barren downs, which continued for half an hour, when at length we looked down on Wady Ruhaibeh, a broad fertile region, on the western side of which a hill, Ruhaibeh, covered with stone ruins, overlooks the whole plain. In three-quarters of an hour more we reached our camp. Our baggage-camels had come from El

² Reisen, ii. 406.

Birein in eight hours. We had passed no trees, I think, on our journey that day. Many sheep and camels were in sight, cropping the grass, as we entered Wady Ruhaibeh. These ruins are first mentioned by Seetzen under the name of Erhabeh, and were first examined by Robinson. Our camp was pitched near the opening of Wady Bir, about three-fourths of a mile from the most conspicuous ruins on the hill. In crossing the intervening ridge, I passed a considerable number of cairns, and on arriving at the height to which Suleimán gave the definite name of Ruhaibeh, I found the remains of a wall of heavy stones running along the brow of the eminence, and beyond them the remains of a great number of stone dwellings, so confused as scarcely to enable one to trace their form or location. They covered a large area, which Robinson estimates at ten or twelve acres, and the probable population at from twelve to fifteen thousand. I might not put it so high. The dwellings appeared to have been small, and built of squared stones. There are numerous wells and cisterns cut in the rock. I did not happen to see the fragments of columns and entablatures which Robinson thought to have belonged to a church, an opinion in which Palmer concurs. As we rode next morning along the eastern side of the eminence, we passed, on the hill-side, before reaching the highest elevation, the remains of three round mounds or enclosures, forty feet in diameter within. Dr. Robinson was the first to identify the name Ruhaibeh with the Scripture Rehoboth, and his identification is generally accepted. These are the chief ruins, although others are found in the vicinity. Palmer mentions, on the hill-side overlooking his camp in Wady Ruhaibeh, some square towers of massive masonry, one of them still twenty feet high, with a loop-hole in the wall. In the valley bed he also found an old well, now so

covered with the debris of the edifice built over it, as scarcely to be distinguishable. At some little distance eastward, in Wady es Sadi, the same traveller also found the remains of a less extensive settlement, nearly a quarter of a mile in length, comprising a well of immense proportions, and apparently of very great antiquity; and still farther east toward Sebaita, another old well with immensely massive masonry, pointing to a very ancient date, and near it some ruins showing a broken capital of a Corinthian pattern. Bonar mentions extensive ruins in Wady Ruhaibeh rather too indefinitely to identify exactly, but he specifies some large and well-defined buildings, one measuring forty-five by fifty-two feet, another thirty-three by forty, divided into compartments, with remains of "pillars or corner ornaments."

It will be observed what a remarkable contrast exists between the present and the former condition of this whole region of the Negeb adjacent to the wilderness. In a country where there is not for miles and miles one permanent dwelling, there was once gathered a large body of settled inhabitants. Within a space of twenty miles by twelve lie these five seats of population, El Birein, El Abdeh, El Aujeh, Sebaita, and Ruhaibeh, each of the two last undoubtedly occupied by several thousand inhabitants, and the southernmost of the five within less than twenty miles of the edge of the desert. And though the chief ruins now found at the principal places date only from some unknown period early in the Christian era—perhaps the fourth or fifth century—some of the remains are far older, while the later occupancy and cultivation clearly indicate the probable, or certainly possible, condition of things in earlier times. The lack of earlier and fuller knowledge of these places is due, in part, apparently to the jealousy of the present Arab oc-

cupants, by reason of which travellers have been conducted to the west of these more fertile regions. The same jealousy, increased by positive fear, would have resisted the approach of Israel, and brought on conflicts. These facts require to be considered in connection with the discussion of the probable route of Israel.

We left Ruhaibeh at ten minutes before eight, on the 13th of March. Two Arabs were ploughing, each with one camel and the common scratching implements of the East. An hour later, low walls were in sight along the plain near a hill-side, and soon after three ibexes made their appearance and disappearance on our left. At half-past nine we came to wheat-fields in a broad valley, where numerous low stone walls ran obliquely across the plain. In the grain were landmarks; some of them single stones, others heaps of small stones. Birds were singing and flitting about, and it seemed much like a morning in May at home. It was about a month later in the year that Robinson saw and heard along this region larks, nightingales, and quails. At ten o'clock, sheep, goats, asses, and five horses came in sight. At a quarter before eleven, or about eight miles from Ruhaibeh, we arrived at another former site of a large population—Khalasah, the Roman Elusa. First we came to a deep excavation like a reservoir; then followed a space of a quarter of a mile, scattered over with fragments of pottery. Then we crossed a deep water-shed, and mounted an eminence covered with promiscuous heaps of squared stones. Near the bank was a well, about twelve feet in diameter and twenty feet deep, now dry. Beyond were several acres of scattered stones, covering the eminence, mingled with fragments of pottery. Several excavations disclosed the foundation-walls of buildings. On the left we saw where the torrent had washed away the bank, and

left a stone well, almost entire, projecting several feet above the ground. Here must have been a large town: the conjectural estimate of fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants does not seem excessive. It was once the site of a "bishopric."

Before and after reaching Khalasah, we crossed a succession of sandy downs, of which the sand is said to have come from the shores of the Mediterranean. Just before arriving here, I found the most showy specimen of an iris that I ever met with. About an hour from Khalasah we left the sand-hills, descending into a broad level space, which occupied half an hour in crossing, and came to Wady Martabeh to lunch. Soon after leaving this place I saw one small tree, the only one to-day, so completely has this region been devastated of its wood. Marks of former habitations and walls on each side showed themselves as we descended Wady Erweiha. I had long had my eyes on the distant hills, which I knew must be in Palestine; and at length we reached a high point, from which we looked down on a long slope, and before us lay the great Wady es Seba, extending nearly due west, and in it Bir es Seba, or Beer-sheba. A watercourse ran along the middle of the wady: on both sides the ground was a bright green, and on the northern side of the watercourse we could distinctly see the principal well, surrounded by its stone troughs. Camels and donkeys appeared in the background, and paths leading to the well. It took twenty minutes more of accelerated motion to reach the farther side of the watercourse, climb the bank, some ten feet high, and stand by the smaller of the two wells still in use. It was quite near the bank, was about five feet and a half in diameter, well stoned, and the stones fluted by bucket-ropes. It seemed forty feet to the water. From this we passed perhaps sixty rods to the principal well,

which was twelve and a half feet in diameter, and the water stood, as we judged, about forty feet from the top. It was thoroughly walled with massive stones, and these were cut with the ropes of ages into "one hundred and forty-three flutings" (according to Tristram's count), "the shallowest of them four inches deep." We were by the wells of Abraham, and on the soil of Palestine. In the near neighborhood were stone division lines, and stones of former habitations. The region all around bore the aspect of being much frequented, and in a deep ravine between the wells I saw the nitre of ages on the edges of the ravine. The scattered vestiges of buildings continue for two or three miles along this northern bank. Not far from the eastern well Palmer and Tristram have both discerned distinct traces of a Greek church. The southern bank of the watercourse is protected by a solid line, or wall, of heavy stones, laid along its edge. As we moved onward we passed a dry well, now showing a depth of about four feet. The Arabs say that there are four others (also now dry), making seven: Bir es Seba—"well of the seven." Robinson says there is "not the slightest historical or other ground for supposing seven wells here." But Mr. Tristram claims to have seen five of them,³ and Mr. Palmer, after speaking of these that we saw, affirms that "there are traces of the other four wells that once existed here."⁴ Abraham planted here a grove, according to many of the earlier versions,⁵ or a tamarisk, according to many later expositors.⁶ But no tree is now anywhere in sight; a fact which gives a singular air of nudity

³ Land of Israel, p. 380.

⁴ Desert of the Exodus, p. 388. The Hebrew Ber-sheba means "well of the oath," or "of seven." Lieutenant Conder saw but three.

⁵ Vulgate, Aquila, Samaritan, Jerusalem, Targum I. and II.

⁶ Knobel, Keil, Kalisch, Fürst, and others. Septuagint (badly), ἀρούρα.

to hill and valley all around. Here, then, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Samuel and Elijah, had been before us.⁷

After lingering awhile around this historic centre, we moved on for three-fourths of an hour, passing on the way other walls and ruins, and camped in Wady Seba, in a verdant plain, reddened with flowers, and having a small well of pure water near the centre. We were now manifestly in a different country from either the desert or the Negeb. It was an undulating region, not unlike a rolling prairie at the West, but less green. Low hills around were covered with soil and verdure, little birds flew round in flocks, and distant lines of mountains were no longer absolutely ragged and bald. It seemed almost like getting home once more. But the eye wished still for the sight of trees and inhabitants. Not a tree was to be seen in any direction from our camp.

We had been travelling all day through the favorite region of Isaac's sojournings; but his last resting-place lay another day's journey beyond, in Hebron.

⁷ Lieutenant Conder thinks he has "discovered" the *masonry* of the wells of Beer-sheba to be less ancient than has been commonly supposed. "Fifteen courses down on the south side of the large well there is a stone with an inscription in Arabic, dated, as well as I could make out [!], 505 A.H., or in the twelfth century" (Tent Work, ii. 96). It is to be regretted that he did not "make out" the facts with certainty.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE HILL-COUNTRY OF JUDAH.

March 14th.—We left camp a little before eight o'clock. As we moved along the old path, small bits of pottery lay scattered on the soil for a long distance—a fact which we repeatedly observed during the day. We followed Wady Khalil, in which at intervals, for hours, we saw the water standing in small pools—enough to furnish for the present a supply for the Bedouin and their flocks. At twenty minutes before nine we came to a regular dam, running diagonally across the water-bed, eight feet high and fifty or sixty feet long, constructed of large stones, filled in with smaller ones, and laid in cement. It was broken away in parts. The country continued undulating, covered with green, and hemmed in by low lines of hills in the distance. The birds were abundant, and musical. The home-like feeling was deepened, as I walked by a black Arab tent, by the offer of a cup of coffee from the old Bedouin inhabitant. We soon came to another broken dam, laid with mortar or cement. Numerous and extensive wheat-fields succeeded. Saturday, in the forenoon, we came upon a true pastoral scene. About fifty black and brown Bedouin tents lay on the hill-side east of our path, and flocks of sheep and goats, straggling camels, donkeys, and a herd of cattle, were seen in various directions. Women and children were moving about the tents. One woman and several donkeys were coming from the north-western slopes, all laden with small brushwood for

fuel. We found still other flocks and herds beyond. At half-past eleven a few scattering trees appeared, high on the hill-side, and in ten minutes more we found traces of stone dams and terraces along the wady we were following. The lateral wadies showed each two or three successive water or terrace dams, and lines of low stone division-walls could be seen on the hills. We shortened the way by leaving the wady and climbing a hill for ten minutes, and passed the ruins of former dwellings on the way. At twelve o'clock we descended sharply on the other side of the hill, and by a delightful winding passage, where the hill-side was blazing with scarlet anemones (perhaps the "lilies of the field"), we again entered Wady Khalil.

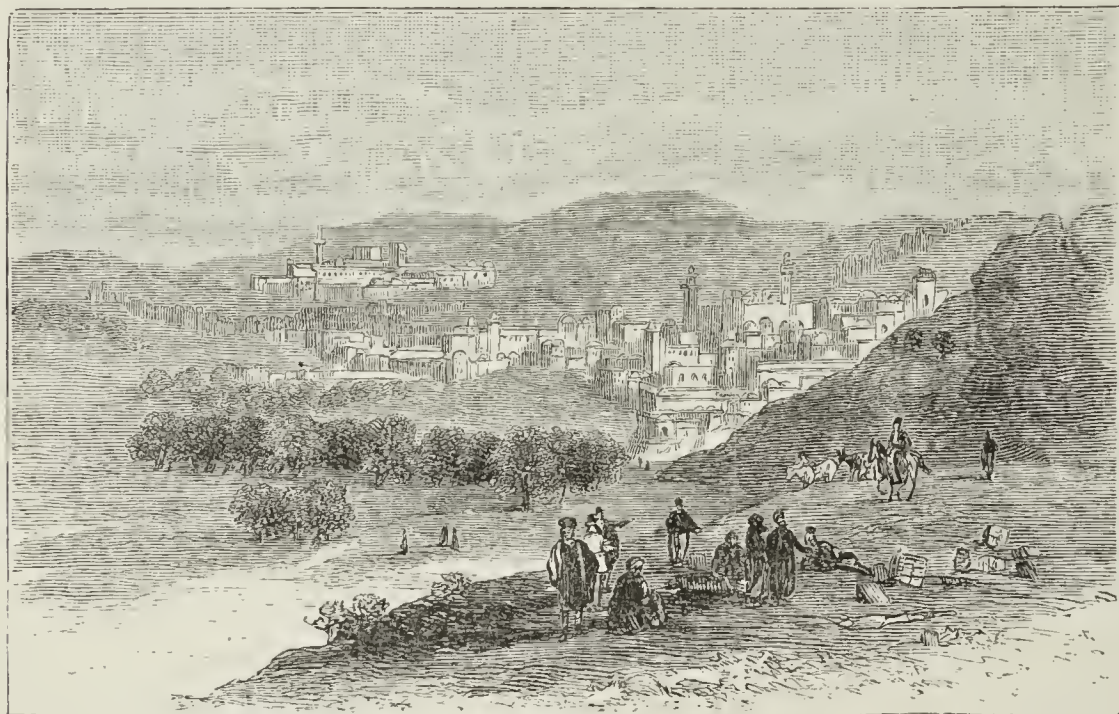
From this point we steadily followed the tortuous course of the wady. Soon the hills, which shut in close and high, showed remains of stone terraces, long since laid in utter ruin, while division-walls, sometimes composed of large and unwieldy stones, here and there ran over the hill-tops down to the wady and up on the other side. Possibly they may mark divisions as old as the occupancy by the families of Judah. Here, too, all the side-valleys were crossed by a series of dams. In the wady which formed our road, we passed in an hour and a half through no less than sixty-four dams, many of them large and strong, formed to retain the soil in successive cultivable plats, to flow the level with water, and break the force of the torrent. Every one of them was broken through, sometimes almost wholly torn away. Grass was growing occasionally, but only on the narrow side-strips of soil which the torrent had spared. The scene was characteristic of Bedouin cultivation, and well marks the almost incalculable difference between the former days and these. At half-past one o'clock we reached Dhahariyeh, expecting to proceed the same afternoon to Hebron. But

it was the place where other camels and men must be procured, and the usual annoying delay took place, although camels were owned here in abundance. So we encamped upon the genuine grass sod, near two large olive-trees, in an open space just south-east of the small town. We had leisure therefore to look around. It is interesting from the fact that its dwellings consist quite largely of caves cut in the rock, and the site is one which evidently has been occupied from very ancient times. These cave-dwellings and numerous other caves on the way to Hebron, which Robinson mentions as being occupied by the peasants through the whole pasturage season, are among the facts which certainly help to give color or relief to the traditional assignment of so many of the Scriptural transactions to caves. The cave-dwellings at Dhahariyeh, as Palmer well remarks, very likely have been inhabited by generation after generation from the time when they were occupied by the old Horite race. A large pool of water lay outside the entrance to the village, and seemed, for the present, at least, to be its principal source of supply. We climbed the hill on the east of our camp and of the village, and found on the edge of a limestone cliff two wells or cisterns with round openings eighteen inches in diameter, and having the openings filled with a stone. There were other wells and excavations in the neighborhood.

On returning to our tents, we found ourselves surrounded by a noisy crowd of men and boys peeping into them, and we made earnest efforts to expedite our departure from a very undesirable place. Meanwhile, our Arabs took a pleasant leave of us to start on their home-trip. But the Sheikh Suleimán did not appear to advantage. He hung about us pitifully for a backsheesh, and asked us directly, although he knew well that our dragoman had the whole responsibility of that matter, and notwithstanding his own

petulant ill-behavior on the journey. We gave him none; but he did not leave us until he had petitioned for various small articles about our tents and equipments, among them even a piece of cord. We gladly parted company with him.

March 15th.—Notwithstanding all our efforts to travel the short distance to Hebron very early in the morning, and have a long quiet day in that venerable place, it was half-past eight o'clock before we got away from the noisy crowd at Dhahariyeh. From our camping-ground we rose almost



HEBRON.

immediately to a height from which we looked out upon a region of "hills and valleys." All along there were remains of terraces on the hill-sides and by the path, showing how once every foot of ground was economized. We frequently saw men ploughing, sometimes with a camel, and oftener with a yoke of cattle. We repeatedly saw three teams in the same field, and in one instance six—half the number with which Elisha was found by Elijah. The plough is still substantially the same as the old rude implement, having one handle, and scratching the ground two or

two and a half inches deep. The whole implement is light enough for a man to carry easily on his shoulder. And, as by reason of its slightness, it cannot be set in a furrow, like an occidental plough, it requires the whole attention of the ploughman to guide it. One of our number, who was a farmer in early life, undertook in one place to plough, and soon found that he could not "look back" nor around, but must give his sole attention to his plough.

At half-past ten, in Wady Burghais, we found a stream of water, and in rapid succession three springs issuing from the rocks near our path and flowing across, and (at twenty minutes after eleven) a small brook; then in a few rods another stream, filling a stone reservoir about twenty-five feet square. A few minutes more brought us to still another stream, much like a New England brook, in a valley that spread out wide and fertile on either side. Here, besides the usual terraces, there were hewn stone foundations and a little spring with a reservoir. We were now most manifestly in the "land of hills and valleys,"¹ and "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths of water that spring out of valleys and hills."²

At a little after twelve we rose to a height where we saw in advance a hill sprinkled with olive-trees, the whole region divided by stone walls, and green fields interspersed between masses of rock. Perhaps no one aspect of Palestine, along its central line of hills, both here and north of Jerusalem, strikes the stranger more with surprise than the amount and roughness of its rock surface. It is not unlike the stony parts of New Hampshire in this respect. At the first glance, especially in its present wretched desolation and neglect, under a government that crushes all the hopes of

¹ Deut. xi. 11.

² Deut. viii. 7.

industry, and in possession of a people that destroy and never replace, the thought of the superficial observer is that of disappointment. He sees it almost treeless, rocky and rough and neglected, and thinks that it is, after all, a much overrated and overpraised country. But when he looks more closely, he perceives that all this rock, being limestone, and not sandstone nor granite, when it pulverizes, carries with it, not barrenness but fertility. He observes how the noble olive grows in successive tiers up the sides of seemingly hopeless hills, what sunny exposures are everywhere offered to the vine, and how green are the wheat-fields even when wedged in among the cliffs—and how all these hills appear once to have been diligently and laboriously laid out in terraces almost to their tops—and he changes his mind. He travels through a multitude of fertile valleys, and crosses plains like that of Esdraelon, as rich of soil as a western prairie, almost abandoned now. He passes from the deep tropical valley of the Jordan by the Dead Sea to the high mountains of Galilee, and the still higher range of Lebanon, and sees how this little country, not larger than Wales, is fitted to produce almost every species of fruit or grain of whatever climate upon the globe. And as he watches the brooks and springs of water, and the singular variety of surface, orchards, glens, bold mountains, fertile flowery plains, picturesque sites such as those of Jerusalem, Hebron, Samaria, and a multitude of other places, he cannot but perceive how, in its palmy days, when the heights were crowned with foliage, the hill-sides with cattle, and the fields with grain, Palestine must have been indeed a goodly land, presenting to its children home attractions and inextinguishable recollections beyond even those of Scotland, Switzerland, or New England.

From this eminence of which I have just spoken we de-

scended, and our way bent round in a valley lined with wheat-fields, vineyards, and olive orchards. After another sharp, rough ascent, we looked forth and down upon the ancient and venerable city of Hebron. It was a beautiful sight. A large circular basin of rocky hills opened before us, lined on their slopes with patches of olive plantations, and within these a compact mass of gray limestone houses, with rounded domes. On the nearer edge lay a blue sheet of water, and up the hill-side the great conspicuous Haram building, where rest the ashes of the patriarchs.

We had scarcely made our halt on the open space south of the city, when we were visited by Eleazer Isaac Shapira, a Jew, who had lived in California, Holland, and Germany, although his home was here. He spoke English with fluency and, along a certain track, with intelligence. After lunch we took him for our guide.

We found the streets narrow, and in places exceedingly dirty, and often crossed by long, dark arched passages. The alleged place of David's palace is now covered by a tannery. The larger of two ancient pools (one hundred and thirty-three feet square), enclosed by solid masonry, is somewhat generally supposed to be the "pool in Hebron"³ where the murderers of Ish-bosheth were exposed. The two pools furnish the chief water-supply of the place. Our guide took us a thirty-minute walk northward to see, not Abraham's but "Adam's Oak," as *he* called it, a magnificent tree in the midst of vineyards. We did not measure it carefully, but made it out to be nearly twenty-five feet in circumference. It was the first oak we had seen since leaving Europe, and it marked conspicuously the changed region to which we had now come. We went and returned by a path

³ 2 Sam. iv. 12.

between high stone walls. We passed a small covered pool called "Jacob's Well." On each side were vineyards, consisting of old large vines, kept about six feet high, and supported commonly by a crotched stake. Fruit-trees—olive, almond, fig, pomegranate, mulberry—abounded, and every portion of the surface in this vicinity seemed to be economized for purposes of cultivation, somewhat as the whole land must have been in former days. I took with me some grape-vine cuttings; but the heat of the long subsequent journey destroyed their vitality, so that they failed to germinate at home, as did also an acorn from the great oak.

But the most attractive object in the ancient town that is seven years older than "Zoan of Egypt" is the Haram, the building which, by joint consent of Christian, Mohammedan, and Jewish tradition, supported by the conclusions of modern scholarship, enclosed the cave of Machpelah, the last resting-place of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah. It stands high up the slope on the eastern side of the valley, conspicuous at a distance for its size. It bears not quite the same proportion to the small surrounding buildings as do the great cathedrals of Europe, but it instantly arrests the eye. The dimensions are two hundred by one hundred and fifteen feet, and its windowless walls are about sixty feet high, relieved somewhat by shallow pilasters without capitals. Two modern minarets and a Saracen addition to the height of the walls do not essentially injure the solemn and striking character of the structure. Its smoothly wrought, almost polished, massive stones, some of them thirty-eight feet in length, with the peculiar "marginal draught" (wrongly termed "bevel"), are matched by no others in Palestine, except in the substructure of the temple area at Jerusalem. There seems to be no valid reason to question the conclusion of Robinson,

that "the remarkable external structure of the Haram is indeed the work of Jewish hands, erected long, long before the destruction of the nation, around the sepulchre of their revered progenitors, the 'Friend of God,' and his descendants;" or the still more distinct persuasion of Tristram, that it is "the one remaining work of the royal Solomon, or perhaps of his greater father;" confirmed by Stanley, who had the rare privilege of visiting the interior, and who is convinced that within the Mussulman mosque, "within the Christian church, within the massive stone enclosure built by the kings of Judah, is beyond any reasonable questioning the last resting-place" of the "great patriarchal family."

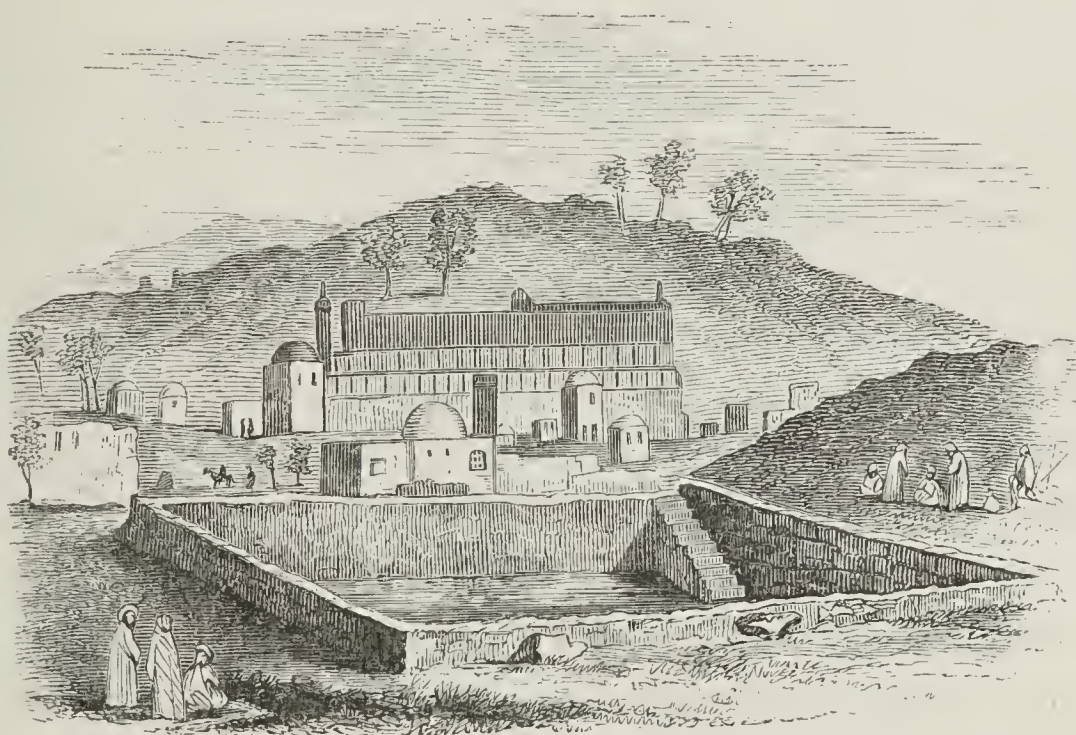
No molestation was offered us as, with our Jewish guide, we approached the venerable place. Times were changed since Seetzen, though outside of the city, was struck by a spent stone from an unknown hand; and even when Robinson was warned to desist, as he was measuring a line parallel to the wall of the enclosure. Still, the entrance of the Prince of Wales and his company in 1862 remains thus far fruitless of privileges to any other Christians. We were quietly permitted to approach quite near the entrance of the long line of enclosed stairway that conducts to the interior, so that we stood directly under the venerable walls and examined its almost polished stones. But once, as we turned toward the entrance, we were saluted by a loud shout of "Yellah" from a crowd of Mohammedan boys. We then went around the building on the hill-side east, immediately above, where we could in some degree look down upon it. But we could only mentally assign the localities within where sleep the great patriarchs: Abraham, according to the tradition, in the middle, Jacob on our right, and Isaac on the left. In a second line, parallel to those of their husbands, are shown the shrines of Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah.

These are all in an inner building, now a Turkish mosque, but, according to Stanley, clearly once a Christian church. There are indications of a cave beneath, which no one has been permitted to explore, and which the Mohammedan has no desire to examine. In the political changes that impend over the East, it is not impossible that the present generation may see, under a different regime, this ancient mystery and some others, more thoroughly explored. The outer building itself is as unique as its object, and has a simple grandeur and solemnity about it not unworthy of the sacred dust that lies within. And in the whole vicinity, notwithstanding the disguise of its Mohammedan population and environments, it is impossible to forget that one is certainly on hallowed ground. The eyes and the feet of the patriarchs were familiar with this soil. The names of Joshua and Caleb stand connected with the place. Here David held court for seven years, and here no doubt he first sung some of those sacred songs that will be coeval with the Church on earth. At our evening prayers it was pleasant to read the story of Abraham's purchase of the cave; and after being brought safe through the long isolation of the wilderness, it was also pleasant to sing to the tune of "Hebron" the words so familiarly associated with it in our country, "Thus far the Lord hath led me on."

In the afternoon we received a very friendly call from a pleasant English party, which we afterward returned. The company consisted of a Mr. Young and two daughters, Rev. — Montgomery, and a physician. The encounter was a refreshing variety; and especially refreshing was it once more to hear the English tongue spoken by some one else than us four. We greatly enjoyed the friendly spirit of the whole company.

Our indefatigable guide, Shappira, brought us some native

wine for sale, and I took occasion, in view of certain statements that are made concerning "unfermented" wines of the East, to make numerous inquiries of him. He brought two kinds, which he termed respectively "strong wine" and "sweet wine." The difference, he said, was that in making the latter, the grapes are kept three weeks before pressing. The result is naturally a thicker, sweeter juice to ferment. Both kinds were clearly fermented wines, and the "sweet wine" seemed to me the stronger, although its strength was



LOWER POOL OF HEBRON.

partly disguised by its sweetness. A specimen which I bought for analysis, and placed in the keeping of the dragoon, somehow disappeared before reaching Beyroot. Shappira never had known any grape-juice kept unfermented. The same thing seemed to be true throughout Palestine, as I had found it through the vine-growing countries of Europe. An unfermented wine was nowhere to be heard of. The wines of Cyprus at the Latin Convent in Jerusalem, and the wine which they said was made in the region, the

wines of Nazareth at the convent, and the wines of Mount Lebanon at Beyroot, were all fermented wines. They seemed to be weak wines, little stronger than strong cider. But that which Dr. Eli Smith found to be true, on protracted and careful inquiry in Syria, seems to be confirmed by every traveller—that no such thing as an unfermented wine can be found or heard of in this region. In view, also, of the statement which has sometimes been made, that the Jewish law excluding leaven during the Passover, also excludes at that time (and consequently from the original Lord's Supper) all fermented wines, I inquired of Shappira, as an intelligent and travelled Jew, whether in Germany, Holland, America, or Palestine, he had met with any such practice or construction of the law. He said that he never heard of any Jews who held that view or followed that practice. I found that here, too, his testimony conformed to that given me personally by the learned Rabbi Felsenthal, in Chicago, and to Dr. Eli Smith by the Rabbi in this same city of Hebron, when Mr. Smith, during the Passover, found common (fermented) wine on his table.

Shappira informed us of the unusual and remarkable severity of the past winter at Hebron. He said that there had been seven snow-storms during the winter. In one of them the snow fell a foot in depth. On the Thursday previous to our arrival, there fell six inches of snow, which lay on the ground two days.

March 16th.—The morning was threatening, and the ground was wet from showers during the night. But the barometer maintained its height, and we hoped for a fair day, and were intensely desirous to reach Jerusalem, and hear once more from the friends from whom we had been so long absolutely shut off. So we hastened on our way. Some delay occurred in exchanging camels for horses and

mules, the wet soil rendering it unsafe to use the former. Almost at once we struck the old Roman road and followed it much of the way. It had once been solidly paved with blocks of stone, which still maintain their place, though worn into deep holes by long-continued travel, with no repairs, perhaps, for thirteen or fourteen hundred years. It was in a very wretched condition. In less than an hour the rain began to fall, and continued with intervals all day long, relieved by five or six hail and snow storms. The wind was high, and came occasionally in furious gusts. At times the hail drove so fiercely in our faces that our horses turned squarely round and refused to go on. I was obliged repeatedly to give my bridle to an Arab to lead my horse. The cold was bitter and piercing. We were all provided with umbrellas, and more or less protected with water-proof garments: I was, however, the only member of the party thoroughly sheeted from head to foot with india-rubber, and I now for the first time appreciated the precaution which, through forty days of fair weather, had kept in readiness these preparations for a storm. Wrapped though I was in a heavy frieze overcoat and encased in water-proofs, I was chilled through and through, and my fingers were too numb at times to guide my horse. One of the company, who had been enfeebled by the jungle-fever of India, was so benumbed that at lunch-time we had to assist him from his horse, and on arriving at Jerusalem we were obliged to support him into the convent. Another of us, less protected about the feet and legs, became so frightfully chilled that he dismounted, and for some six hours pursued his way over the road, wretched with mud, water, and stones. He finished one pair of boots in that excursion. It was a day of exposure and of positive suffering, such as none of us had elsewhere experienced. We wound our way steadily on

over hills and through valleys. We could not turn aside; but even the fierceness of the storm did not prevent us from catching many a striking view as we moved along. The hills were very rocky, and the cleared fields often full of small stones. It was the country of a pastoral people, and for small farmers such as the Mosaic economy contemplated and provided for. There was no chance for "reapers" and "mowers" or "corn-planters" here.

At a quarter before two we halted at Solomon's pools to lunch. On entering the fortress, we found the English party already there before us in the general reception-room. We at length found a shelter in a bare and forlorn apartment, open on one side, where a brisk fire and a lunch restored our circulation, and gave us strength to go on. We soon left behind us these three huge tanks, very probably as old as the king whose name they bear, and then the great source of water-supply for the holy city.

As we pushed on, the rain poured from the skies and the water ran in torrents across and along our rocky, muddy way. We passed Bethlehem without turning aside, compelled to reserve it for another day. We slacked up, however, at the undoubted place of Rachel's tomb, covered by a Muslim wèly, to give it a long and wishful gaze and a rapid inspection. At the convent of Mar Elias we halted a few minutes under the high enclosing wall, to gain a brief respite from the grand final bombardment of hail, and then resolutely pushed forward. As I turned my head from the cutting blast toward the village of Bethlehem, the thought came over me, with great force, that if this even in March were a specimen of the liabilities of "the winter wild" in Palestine, I pitied the shepherds, and the flocks, too, that should have been exposed to such contingencies. And remembering as I did that December is regularly one of the



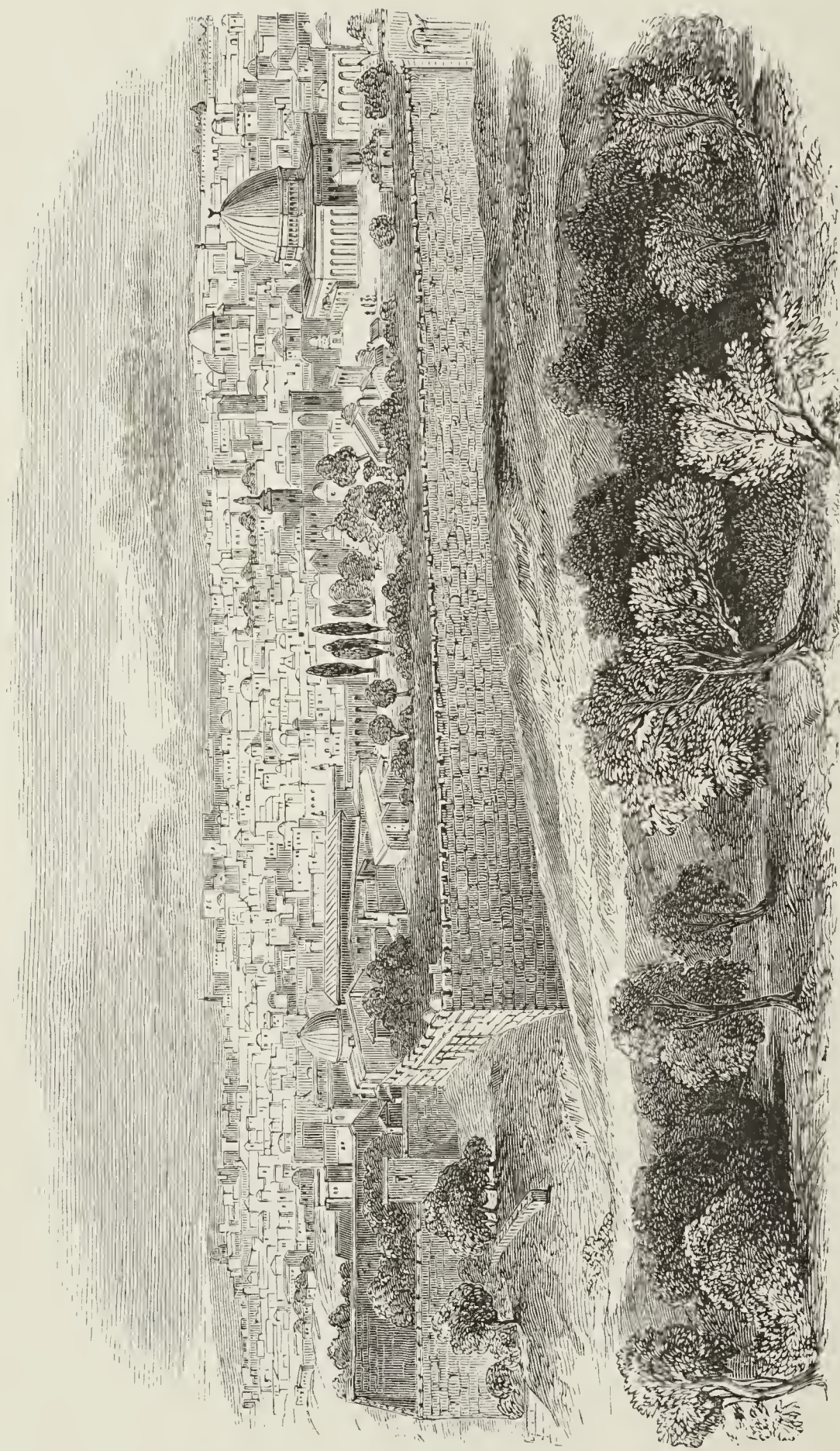
RACHEL'S TOMB.

three cold and stormy months of the year, I was more incredulous than ever that the Roman government would have appointed a census, or that a wise husband would have taken with him a wife in delicate health, at a time of the year when a journey of eighty miles would be liable to

such exposures. Just as we left our shelter, a fierce gust of wind carried away the hat and wrecked the umbrella of one of the company. The hat was recovered, but its owner dismounted and breasted the storm; and we moved on, two horsemen and two footmen. The plain of Rephaim was covered with fine fields of growing grain; and as we approached Jerusalem, even through the storm the city loomed up beautifully "on the sides of the north." At the edge of the plain of Rephaim we descended into the valley of Hinnom, left on our right the lower and dry pool of Gihon as we wound our way upward toward the Jaffa gate.

In looking eastward down the valley of Hinnom to that of Jehoshaphat, I was as much struck with surprise as Robinson was at the great depth of the valley of Jehoshaphat. Just before we turned to enter the gate, we saw at a little distance on our left the upper pool of Gihon, and close by us the usual camping-ground of travellers. As our tents were hopelessly behind, as well as unmanageable in such a storm, we hastened to a hotel. But both hotels (the "Mediterranean" and the "Damascus") were full of travellers, some of whom had been suddenly driven thither by the blowing down of their tents at two in the morning, deluged with rain. The Latin Convent then became our refuge. At first there was some little delay growing out of the undesirable repute of dragomans generally; but we were presently admitted, and received most kind and hospitable treatment during our stay, which at the close we remunerated, of course, by the established present. We were some of us fearfully chilled on our arrival; but a brazier of coals, procured not without difficulty, and in due time a warm dinner, brought us safely through, without injurious effects from the hardest day's exposure of our lives.





JERUSALEM, FROM THE EAST.

CHAPTER XX.

THE HOLY CITY.

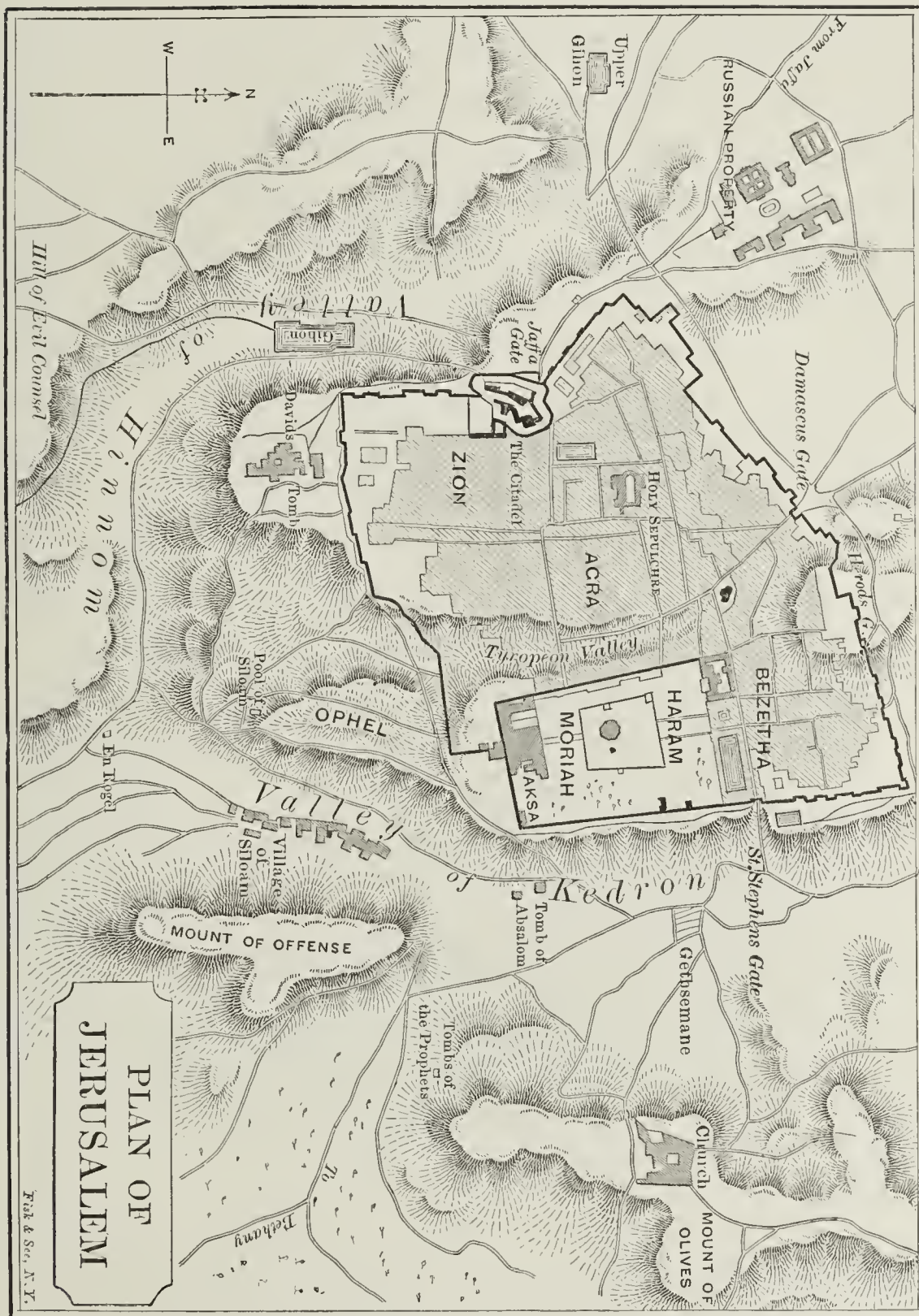
JERUSALEM has been too often and too thoroughly described to call for any minute statements in this volume. I propose accordingly to omit all account of much that passed under my notice both here and in the remainder of Palestine, and to call attention only to such observations as seem to me of some use or interest in addition to the contents of ordinary books of travel and guide-books.

The season itself this year was peculiar. The interval from the middle of March to the middle of April should have been, according to the usual course of things, free from any considerable rains. But we found it very stormy. Besides the storm in which we entered the city, it rained nearly all the next day (March 17th) in showers, snowed nearly all the following day, was showery on the 20th, also on the 23d and five days succeeding, and again on the 2d and 3d of April. On some of these days the showers were heavy, and with little intermission. In the north, the mountains were covered with snow, and the roads so blocked that all this time and for three weeks previous it was impracticable even for the wife of the Governor of Syria to pass from Beyroot to Damascus. In Jerusalem the weight of the snow crushed the roofs of some buildings, and men were employed clearing the roof of our convent, to save it from injury. On the 18th of March there lay on the ground about five inches of wet and heavy snow. I plucked flow-

ers from beneath it in the temple area on that day, and the next day I gathered scarlet anemones from beneath the snow on the side of Mount Olivet. On the morning of the 19th I found ice five-eighths of an inch thick on the roof of the convent. We certainly had experience of the Palestinian fitness of description in the passage (Psa. cxlvii. 16, 17), "He giveth snow like wool: he casteth forth his ice like morsels; and who can stand before his cold?" The native population suffered great hardships by reason of the unusual severity of this season. It was so likewise in Asia Minor; and as we afterward passed the southern coast of that region in April, the whole range of high mountains was sheeted in white.

One of the earliest expeditions was an excursion about the whole city outside the walls, and another was a walk on top of the walls themselves, along the northern, eastern, and part of the southern sides, to gain a more distinct view both of the outer and the inner situation of the place. The position is singularly strong, as readily recognizable by the ancient Jebusite, as by the warrior David and the Roman general Titus.

From the northern hill-country a mountain promontory juts sharply out, hemmed in, east, south, and south-west, by deep ravines with precipitous sides. It is easily accessible only on the north and north-west. At the north-west side, within a short distance of each other, two slight depressions, the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, run in opposite directions, rapidly deepening, after a little, as they go. The valley of Jehoshaphat runs first easterly for a mile and a half, then turns almost at right angles south to form the deeper chasm east of the city. The valley of Hinnom leads southward for a mile and a quarter, then sweeps round eastward, falling with great rapidity to form the southern



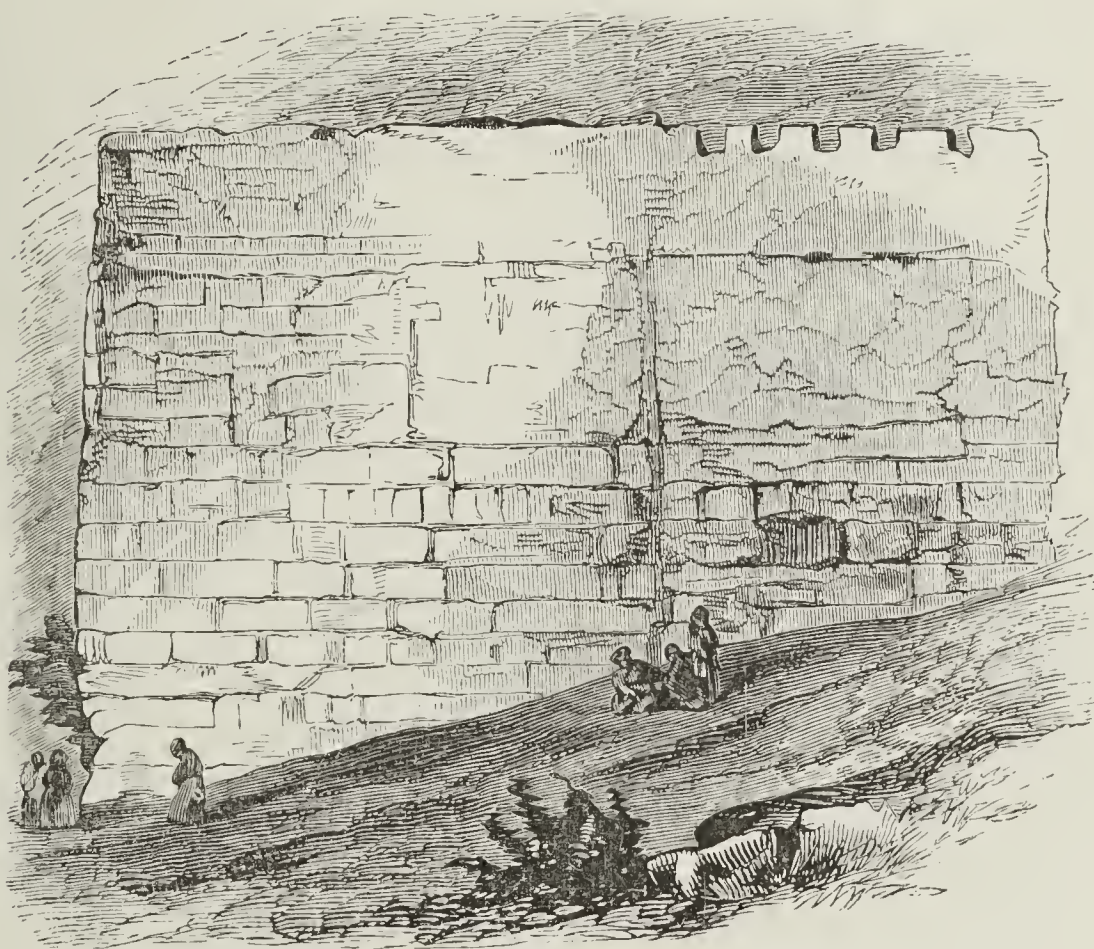
chasm, and joins Jehoshaphat at the south-east corner, six hundred and seventy feet below the level where they started. On this mountain spur, half a mile above the level of the Mediterranean, lies the city of Jerusalem. It is not only itself a mountain city, containing Mount Zion and

Mount Moriah, but it is environed with elevations, and "as the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about his people." The plateau of about a thousand acres slopes toward the south-east. The area was small. Indeed, the present wall encloses but two hundred and nine acres. One can easily walk round the walls in three-quarters of an hour, for they measure but two miles and a half in length. The ancient population would hardly have reached a hundred thousand persons; and the immense crowds that thronged the Passover, amounting at times to three millions, according to Josephus,¹ must have occupied the hill-sides without and the surrounding region.

It is evident to the eye that the line of the present northern wall of the city (the wall of Suleimán of 1542) was not determined by the natural features of the site, since it is commanded by higher ground on the north. But the eastern wall could never have deviated far from the present line, for it runs along the brow of the declivity. And one can readily accept the view of Captain Warren, that here, just south of St. Stephen's gate, in the massive draughted stones of the lower strata, some of them twenty-three feet long, he beholds a relic of the kings of Judah. The eastern end of the southern wall evidently belongs to the natural features of the place, and portions of its masonry (as well as that along the "wailing-place" west of the Haram area) confirm the opinion expressed by the same and by other writers, that these are relics of the time of King Solomon. At the south-eastern corner the abrupt descent of the valley outside prepares one to learn that the massive wall itself descends far below the accumulated debris of ages, and measures, according to the Ordnance Survey, more than a hundred and

¹ Wars, ii. 14, 3; vi. 9, 3.

fifty feet in height; and thus Josephus's description² of the dizzy height of Herod's cloisters that overlooked the deep descent would appear to have had a goodly basis of fact beneath its rhetorical form. The southern wall, instead of following its present course, should so obviously have swept around the brow of the projecting spur of the hill Ophel, that we are prepared alike for the statement that it



WALL AT SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF TEMPLE AREA.

once was so,³ and for the discovery by Captain Warren of a part of the old wall of Ophel beneath the surface. There is nothing to determine the original or natural course of the western wall in its northern part. Hence the question that has not been settled by Captain Warren, and will not be

² Antiq. xv. 11, 5.

³ 2 Chron. xxvii. 3; xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 26, 27.

settled till actual traces of that wall shall be discovered, whether its course excluded or included the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and whether that site is even admissible.

Standing upon certain portions of the wall, the eye can, to some degree, recognize the fact, almost obliterated by the accumulated debris of ages, but revealed by explorations beneath the surface, that the sloping plateau occupied by the city was not originally a plain but a cluster of hill-tops or eminences. It was divided into unequal halves by the valley of the Tyropœon, or the cheese-mongers. A branch of that valley extended westward toward the Jaffa gate, and another depression ran eastward in the same general line to a point south of St. Stephen's gate. The city was thus rudely quartered into Mount Moriah in the south-east; Mount Zion west of it, rising one hundred and twenty feet above the level of Moriah, and still showing a high cliff on its eastern side; Mount Bezetha directly north of it, a hundred feet above the same level; and Aksa, the highest point of all, in the north-west. Bezetha is probably not included in the earlier walls, so that the city was a kind of tri-mountain. Bezetha contains little of interest in earlier or more modern times. The south-eastern quarter, where the ancient ridge that contained the cave of Araunah can still be traced, thrusting one great rock-mass above the level of the surrounding area, and even above the top of the enclosing wall, was undoubtedly the site of the Temple, and probably of Solomon's palace. It was Mount Moriah. Zion, lying west, or rather south-west, and once connected with the temple hill by massive arches that spanned the Tyropœon, contained the palace of Herod. In the heart of the north-western quarter lies the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, well within the present walls; and if within the ancient wall (the "second wall"), then clearly not the place of the Saviour's tomb.

The southern part of the western wall runs so close upon the brow of the hill that it must follow the original line; and here, just outside, within a few years, in certain levelings for the English cemetery, was disclosed from beneath a mass of rubbish, a flight of rock-hewn steps leading down to the valley below. And in the south-eastern slope of Ophel, just above the Pool of Siloam, one looks upon another flight of steps, supposed by Tristram to be the very same that is mentioned in Neh. iii. 15, 16, and, like those in the English cemetery, to be older than the captivity.⁴

In walking through the streets of Jerusalem the traveller knows with absolute certainty that he stands upon the ancient and venerable historic site where kings, priests, prophets and holy men, and the Saviour, with the twelve, once moved about. But when he looks upon individual localities and traditional spots, he cannot forget that he stands in the city not only of twenty-seven sieges, but of numerous reconstructions. It has been well said, there was a city before David, and then successively a city of Solomon, of Nehemiah, of Herod, of Hadrian and Constantine, of Omar, of Godfrey, and of Suleimán. "Rubbish and debris cover every foot of its ground, save where the rock crops out at intervals. The rubbish is the wreck of all these cities piled one above the other." After the conquest by Titus, the tenth legion was left for the express purpose of demolition, and for fifty years the city disappeared from knowledge and history. Then, nearly a century later, another revolt and bloody capture was followed by a change of the city's name,⁵ and the deliberate attempt of Hadrian to obliterate every trace of the former city. Ruins razed and ploughed over, a Roman colony introduced, the banishment of all

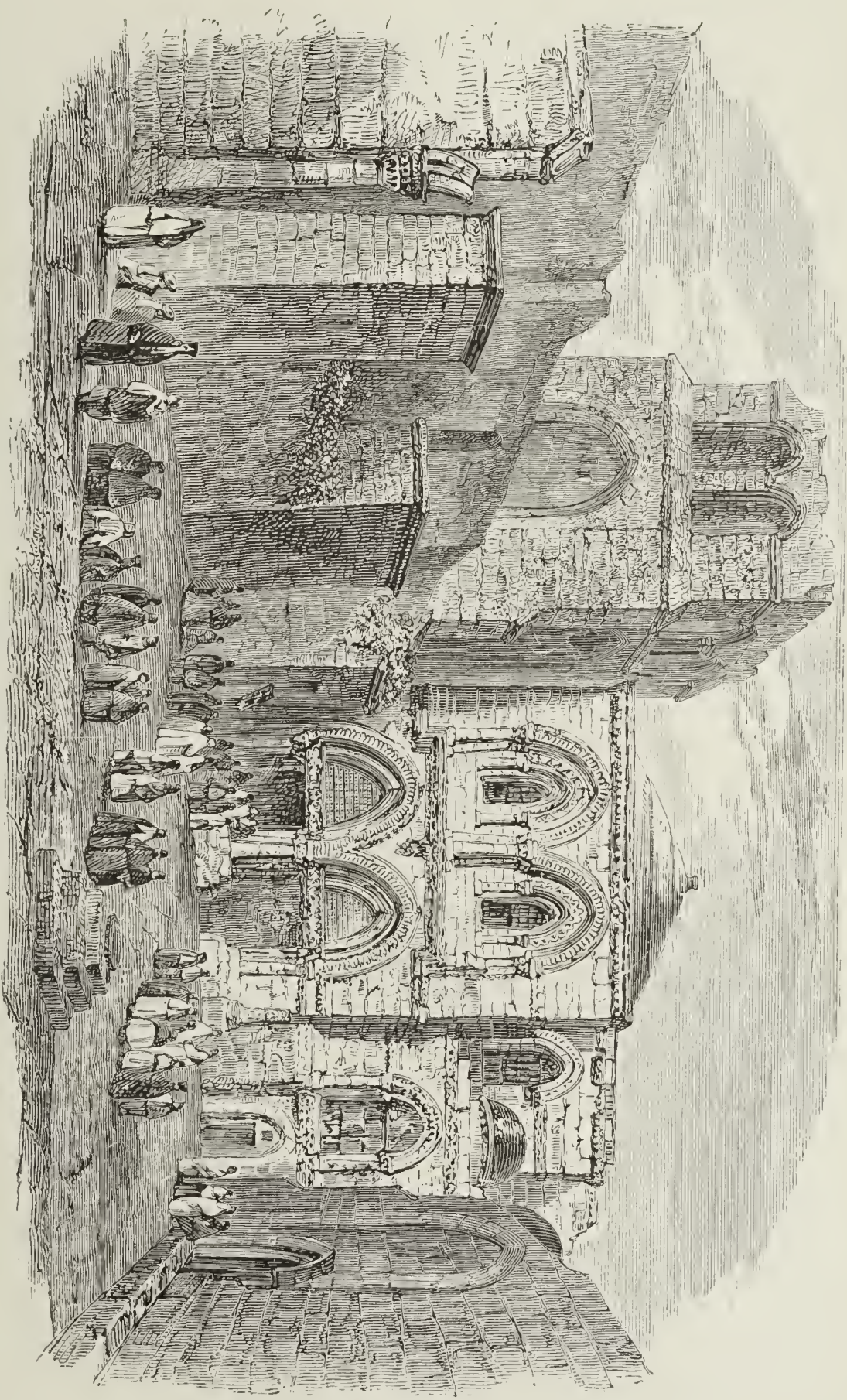
⁴ Land of Israel, p. 193.

⁵ Our Work in Palestine, p. 67.

Jews for two hundred years, a Roman theatre, a temple of Jupiter on the Temple site, Hadrian's statue on the holy place, and the worship of Serapis, tell the tale.

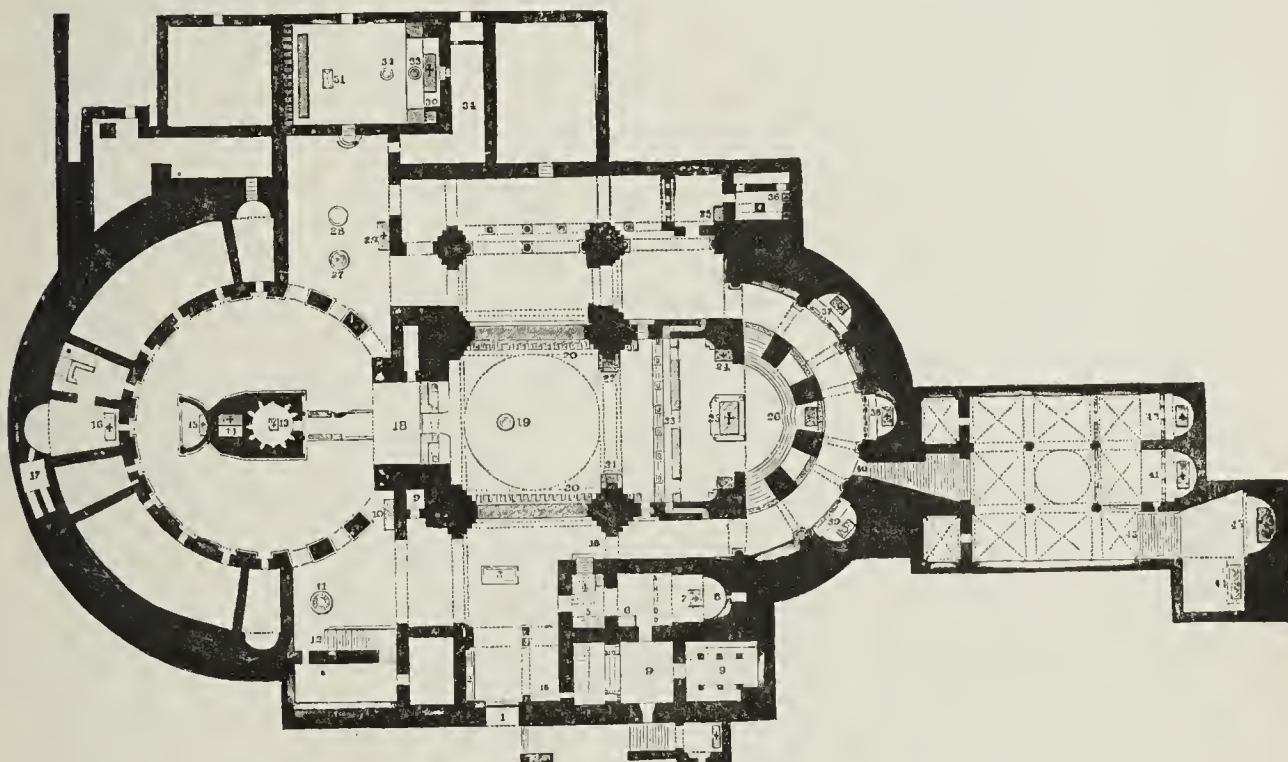
Many striking facts recently brought to light indicate the changes of the surface of the city. Beneath the house of the Prussian deaconesses on Bezetha was found a subterranean street of houses several feet beneath the surface. In building the Episcopal church on Mount Zion, it was necessary to dig through fifty feet of rubbish in order to lay the foundations. Captain Warren excavated in the Tyropœon, near Robinson's arch, fifty-five feet without reaching the bottom of the debris; and just south of the central entrance to the Haram area, he found the accumulation to be not less than eighty-four feet in depth. As one walks along the Via Dolorosa, with its numerous traditional places—the house of Dives, the “Ecce Homo” arch, the place where the Saviour is alleged to have sunk under the cross, the spot where he said, “Weep not”—it certainly abates largely whatever confidence might possibly be attached to any of them, to remember that, according to the Ordnance Survey, in many places the street now lies thirty or forty feet above its original level.

In visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, one would be glad to believe that he stands in a genuine place, and to share in the enthusiasm of the pilgrims whom he sees entering the small central apartment on their knees, and with their lips wearing away the marble which, beneath the light of forty-three lamps of silver and gold, covers the alleged place of burial. But too many questions arise. The difficulty of showing, and even of believing, that the place could have been without the walls; the difficulty, if not impossibility, of preserving the knowledge of the place during those early centuries of confusion, coupled with the obvious



THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

indisposition in early days to invest such places with special sanctity; and, finally, the immense accumulation of sacred spots beneath this one roof, make you feel at length that all stand on a like level of monkish imposture. For here you have, it is said by some one who has counted them, about seventy sacred spots, all huddled together, from the



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

1. Principal door; 4. Tomb of Godfrey; 5. Tomb of Baldwin; 6. Tomb of Melchizedek; 7. Chapel of Adam and John the Baptist; 8. Tomb of Adam; 11. Place where the Virgin Mary stood while the body was anointed; 13. Chapel of the Angel; 17. Tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus; 19. Greek "Centre of the World;" 27. Where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene; 28. Where Mary Magdalene stood; 30. Part of the pillar of flagellation; 32. Where Christ appeared to his mother after the resurrection; 33. Place of the recognition of the cross; 35. Place of Christ's bonds; 36. Chapel of the Virgin; 38. Chapel of Longinus the Centurion; 39. Chapel of the mocking; 41. Chapel of St. Helena; 42. Chapel of the penitent thief; 44. Chapel of the finding of the cross.

tombs of Adam and Melchizedek, down to the vault where Helena found the true cross, the crown of thorns, the nails, and the original inscription. One is refreshed to find himself near the tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin as veritable facts. Still, many highly intelligent persons maintain that the place of the sepulchre is the genuine site. Such is the opinion of Sir Henry James, of the Ordnance Survey.

In visiting the temple area I was troubled by no such questioning. My first visit was on my own responsibility. My friend and myself were exploring the city on a rainy morning, and coming opposite the entrance to the Haram area, we said, "Let's go in." No sooner said than done. As we walked toward the Dome of the Rock, looking quietly about, a beggar attempted to stop us, but we paid no attention to him. He then shouted for the guard. But the guard evidently did not intend to wet their good clothing in the rain, and we kept on. The beggar then laid hold of me. I removed his hand and made him understand that that would not answer, when he changed his tone and asked lustily for backsheesh. We stayed a few minutes, took a good look of the place, and came away unmolested. A few years ago such an experiment would have been to the last degree hazardous. But times have changed. Until the Crimean war no Jew or Christian, unless under extraordinary circumstances, had for six centuries been permitted to enter these walls. Barclay was prevented by a threat of death from measuring within ten or fifteen yards of the gate. He mentions two persons, one dangerously pelted with stones, and the other still more dangerously beaten, for entering the enclosure, though the latter was a physician in attendance on a Haram officer, and was under special protection. He has known several persons, well disguised and pretending to be Mussulmans, to gain admission by the payment of thirty or forty pounds. W. H. Bartlett gives an exciting narrative of two unsuccessful attempts on his part to enter, once in the disguise of a woman. He afterward succeeded. But this dangerous and costly experiment has now become safe and cheap. The privilege which cost Tristram and his company, in 1864, one pound each, cost us but about two francs apiece—thanks to the efficiency of our

American consul, Mr. De Mass. Neither is there any annoyance about it. We were permitted to see everything quite as freely as the same privilege is accorded in a European cathedral. There was no additional backsheesh, and no scowling looks.

The far-famed Dome of the Rock is of course the object of chief interest. It was now undergoing repairs, without and within, and for this reason, perhaps, our freedom was the more complete. Fragments of its enamelled tiles lay scattered around. The building itself is one of the most Oriental things that falls under the eye of the traveller. Its octagonal shape, its party-colored marbles, its glazed tiles of bright colors and intricate figures, its Arabic inscriptions, its pointed windows, its graceful dome, surmounted by a gilded crescent, and rising from among the tall cypresses around, are a genuine vision of the East.

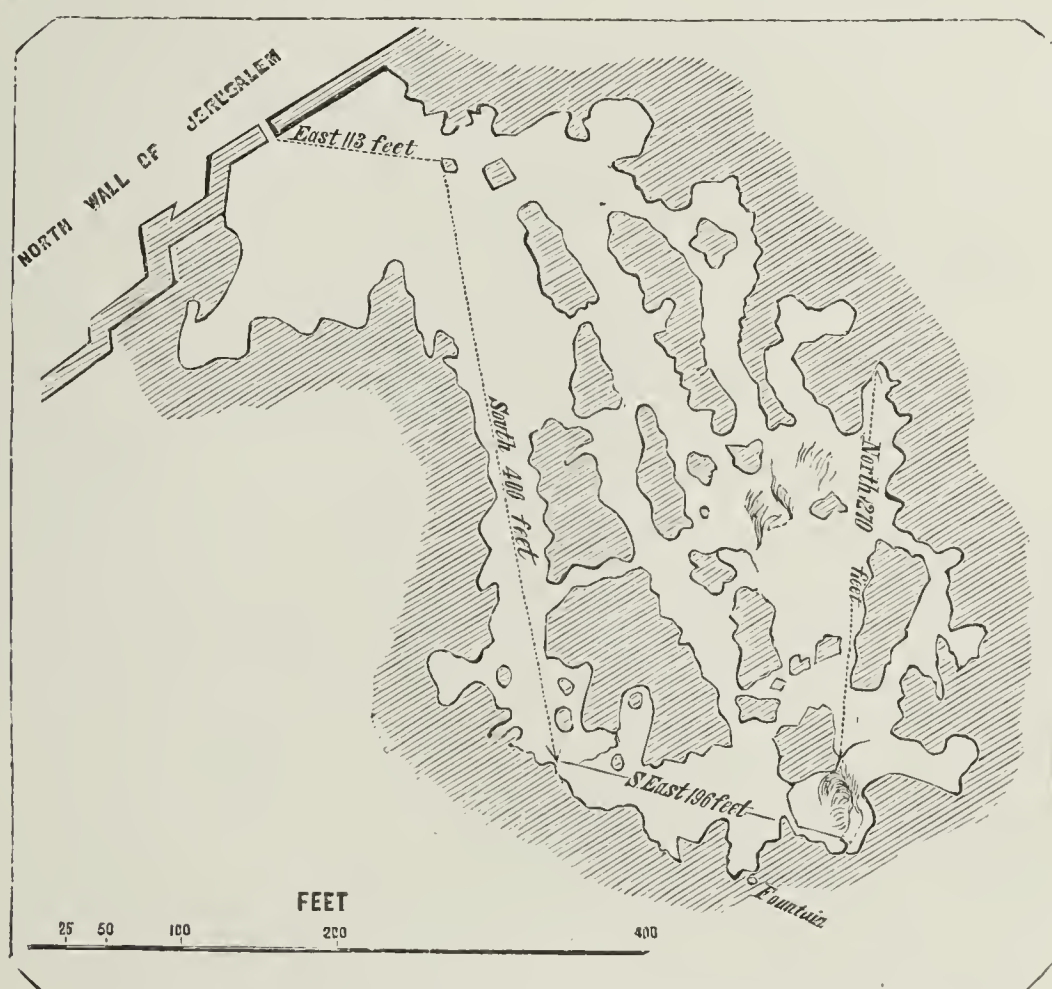
But the chief interest is found in its central object. Within two concentric circles of piers, and of Corinthian columns which have evidently come from some older edifice, perhaps Hadrian's, or possibly even Herod's, temple, is a lattice-work screen, and within the screen a great rounded rock projection, some sixty feet by forty according to Tristram, and rising, according to Captain Wilson, four feet nine inches above the marble pavement, but a good deal more above the general level. It shows here and there marks of the chisel, but is, in the main, nothing but a rough mass of rock. We put our hands upon it through the lattice-work, mounted on a ladder and looked down upon it from above, and finally entered it by a flight of steps hewn out on the south-eastern side. Here we found ourselves within a room about fifteen feet square and six or eight feet high. The rough and irregular sides are covered with plaster now, while the ceiling is pierced with a hole some three

feet in diameter, and in the floor lies a slab, covering, as it is alleged, a well. The room, of course, contained some superstitious spots; but the aspect of it is of a natural cave enlarged.

The preservation of such a rough rock through the ages in a place where everything else has been elaborately levelled and cut away, is a phenomenon inexplicable, except on the ground of some ancient and venerable history or tradition. And inasmuch as the general locality of the Temple is settled as belonging somewhere in this area—it being a situation, too, such as would scarcely ever have been mistaken—in addition to the considerations pointing to this particular locality, I recognize as not less significant than any other, the fact of this rock being so preserved and so screened, down to the present day. In the cavern beneath, so similar to other recognized granaries, it implies no credulity, therefore, to suppose with Tristram (and apparently with Pierotti) that we may have found a granary attached to the threshing-floor of Araunah: it may be the place in which he and his four sons hid themselves (1 Chron. xxi. 20) when “he was threshing wheat,” and that here we stand upon the spot which David bought of him for the Temple site. I observed that “the sparrow hath found a house” in the Temple area now, as of old. I saw them here as well as in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the grotto of Jeremiah, and elsewhere abundantly. The flowers I plucked here were covered with several inches of snow.

It was a very impressive visit that we made the same day to the immense quarries directly underneath the city. Entering by a hole near the Damascus gate, we found ourselves at once in a vast succession of continuous caverns, excavated in the limestone rock to get building-stone. The height was from ten to thirty feet, and the roof was sup-

ported by shapeless natural columns of rock. The marks of chisel and pick are as discernible as though of yesterday, the hollows used as lamps by the workmen, and in one place a broken monolith. It is supposed that the white stone of the Temple came from these quarries, and the materials generally of the ancient city. The caverns are large enough to build a larger city than modern Jerusalem; and, as Thom-



QUARRIES UNDER JERUSALEM.

son remarks, "the whole city might be stowed away in them." The guide conducted us about for a long distance, and affirmed at one time that we were beneath the Haram area; but I doubted it. Tristram accepts the suggestion that through a subterranean passage from the Temple, recently discovered, Simon escaped, when, on the last day of the great struggle with the Romans, he made his appear-

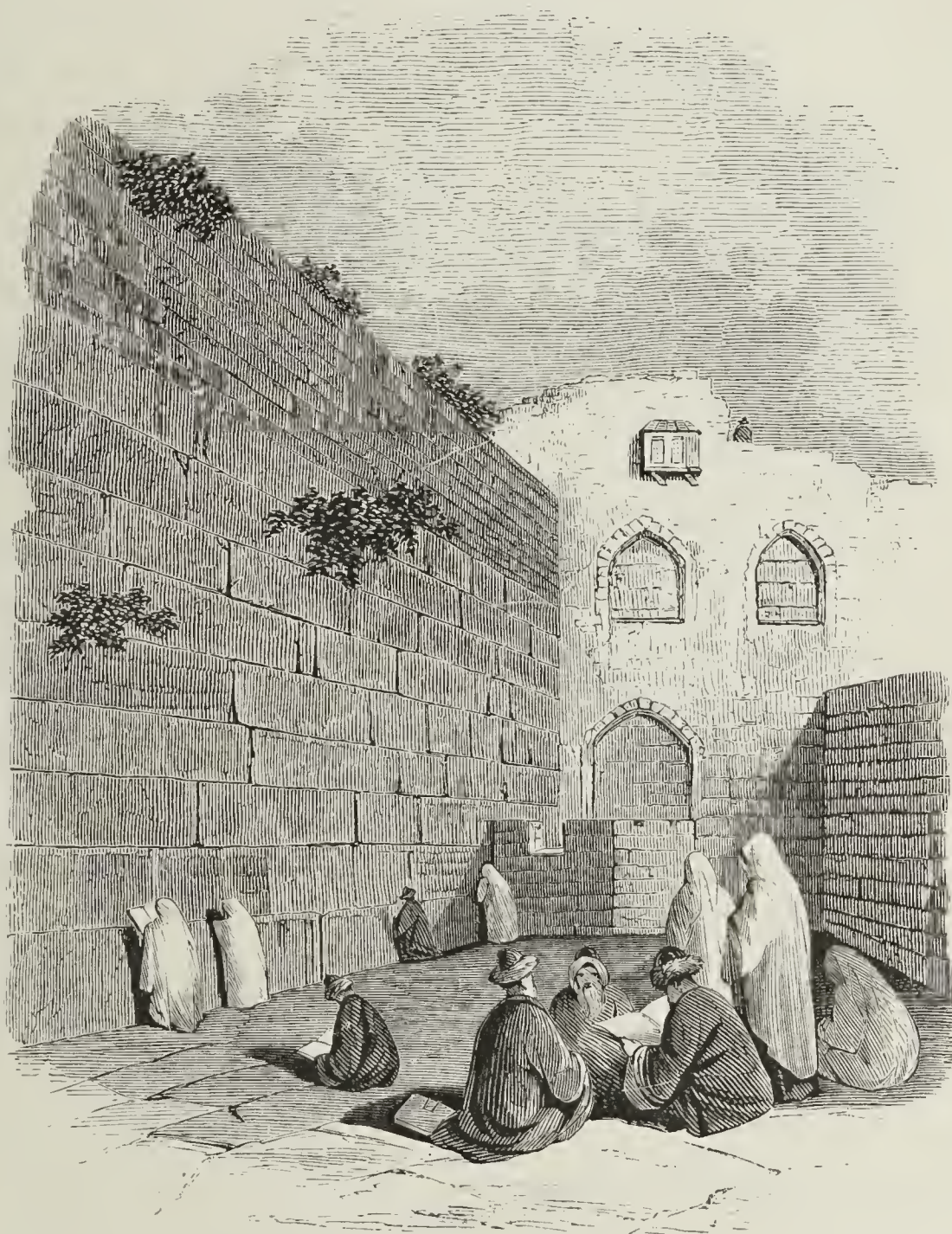
ance as a ghost at the tower of David, near the Jaffa gate—his final venture. In these caverns, according to Josephus, a great number of Jews for a time found refuge when the city was captured.

Among the undoubted antiquities outside the city walls may be reckoned the Pool of Siloam, on the south side of Ophel, reduced in size and enclosed by more modern masonry, but the same pool. The people still frequent it for water. Here the blind man washed and received his sight. Connected with it, higher on the hill, is the Fountain of the Virgin, with an irregular flow, which Robinson has therefore suggested may be Bethesda, and others the King's Pool of Nehemiah (ii. 14). And lower down, where the two valleys meet, is Bir Eyub, the Well of Joab, which with much probability has been considered the En Rogel of historic memory. The abrupt cliffs beyond the Valley of Hinnom, which form the ascent to the Hill of Evil Counsel and the Field of Blood, may very probably have been the place where Judas hung himself and fell: but this can only be conjectured.

Of course, no traveller fails to go on Friday to the wailing-place of the Jews, outside of the western wall of the Haram area. Here we saw nine men and about twice as many women assembled, with their faces turned to the wall, and many of them reading their prayers from a book. The scene is perhaps more impressive to read of than to see, as it savored a little of a ceremony. The old wall itself at this point was a much more interesting sight, with its large draughted stones. The depression of the Tyropœon valley, and "Robinson's Arch"—the arch of the bridge that once spanned this valley—are also matters of special interest in this quarter.

The sepulchres around the city are well calculated to ar-

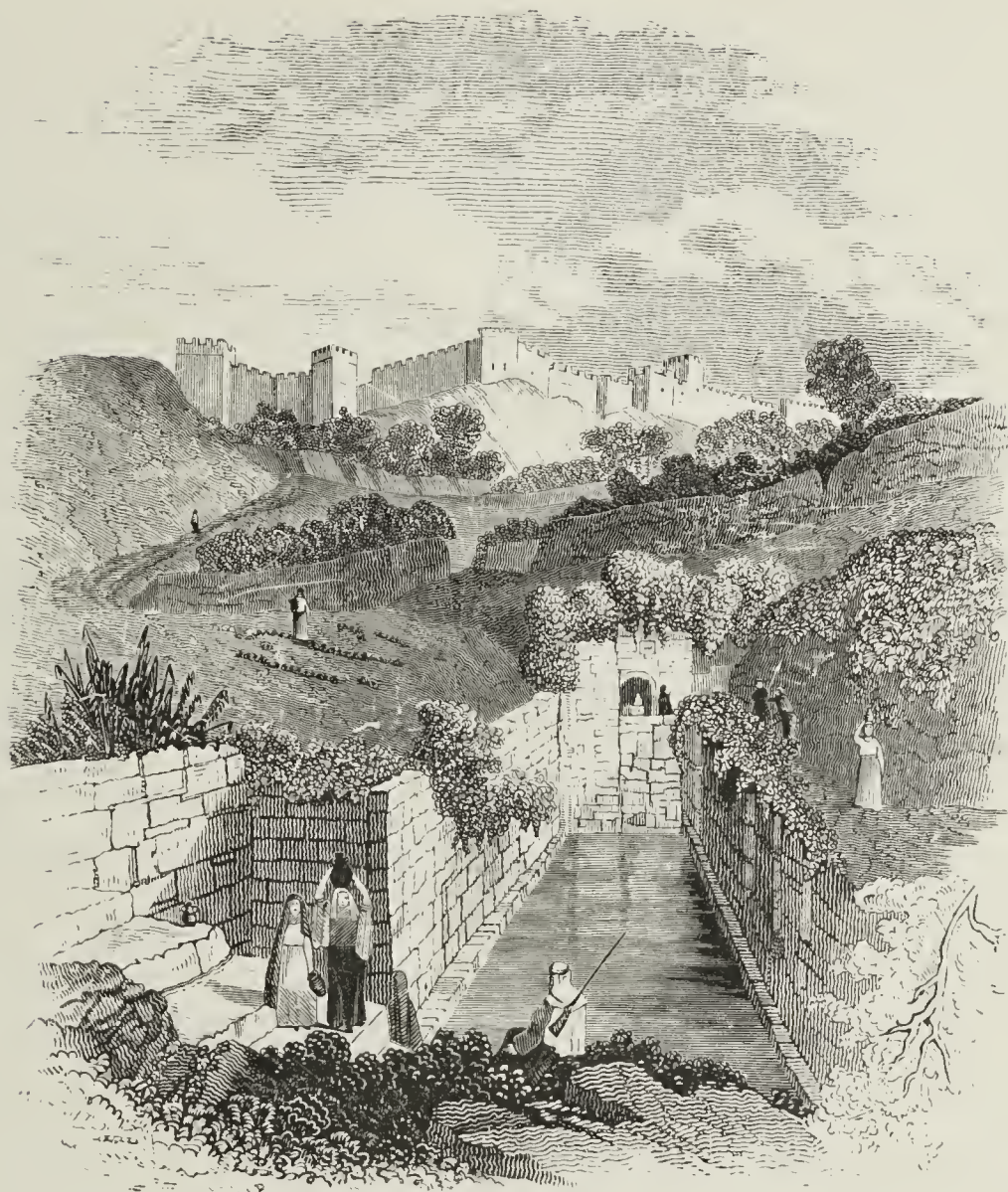
rest the attention. As it was said to be once easier to find a god than a man in Athens, so it has been remarked, perhaps without exaggeration, that “the tombs of Jerusalem



JEWS' WAILING-PLACE.

are far more numerous than her houses.” The deep valleys around the city and the side-hills in every direction are honey-combed with them. And these homes of the dead have at various periods—some of them at the present day

—been houses of the living. There is no evidence that the name borne by any one of them describes the fact of the case. Whether the “tomb of David” was actually his place of sepulture, perhaps can be determined with some probability when Turkish bigotry shall permit a thorough examination. But the tombs of the kings were more likely in the first instance the tomb of a queen, Helena. The tomb of Absalom and of Zechariah probably are many hundred years later than those persons. There is no evidence that either a judge or a prophet was ever laid in “the tombs of the judges” and “of the prophets.” But the structure of these sepulchres, some of which are apparently very old, is instructive in regard to the prevalent method of burial. While the modern Turks bury their dead in a grave in the ground—as may now be seen just outside of the wall south of St. Stephen’s gate and elsewhere—the ancient Jewish practice seems not to have corresponded at all to this method. The sepulchre was early a natural cave, and afterward a room or suite of rooms cut in the rock, entered commonly by a horizontal door (though sometimes apparently by a flight of steps), and in these rooms or chambers the dead were deposited in niches or berths hewed in the side-wall, lying sometimes parallel and sometimes perpendicular to the side of the wall. Thus in the tombs of the kings one chamber had seven of these lateral niches, another nine; a third chamber had three connecting vaults, each with three raised niches for the dead. This was apparently the case in all instances—substantially the same arrangement that prevailed universally through the early Jewish and Christian catacombs of Rome. A very obvious application of this fact is to correct the conception of those who think of a “burial” in the Scriptures as though it were a letting-down of the dead into the ground and covering him with earth,



POOL OF SILOAM.

and hence resembling an immersion. The two things seem to have no very noticeable resemblance, any more than there is between an immersion and the entrance into a berth in a railway sleeping-car.

Uncertainties about general locality disappear, in part, when the traveller passes out of Jerusalem by St. Stephen's gate eastward. The rapidly descending path brings one shortly to the channel of the Kedron, which, when I saw it, was not "the dry bed of a winter torrent," but a swift and vigorous brook. It was suggested, however, by Dr. Barclay, and proved by the Ordnance Survey, that the true bed

of the Kedron lies nearly forty feet (thirty-eight and a half) below the accumulated rubbish of the valley. Once over the valley, there is no mistake about the fact that we are climbing the veritable Mount of Olives. The present Garden of Gethsemane, with its venerable olive-trees, may be too much in the line of constant travel (being at the divergence of two paths) to answer for the place of retirement and quiet which the Saviour sought. The actual spot may be, as Thomson suggests, a little farther to the north. But along over this very region that we travel, those sacred footsteps must often have gone, and the whole natural scenery is the same that was familiar to his eyes. Up the mount we climbed, plucking "lilies of the field" from beneath the unseasonable snow, till from the summit we could see the city far below us on the one side, and on the other the Dead Sea and the long deep valley north of it.

We followed the path that led over the summit to Bethany. Of course one could take little satisfaction in viewing the particular ruin called the house of Martha and Mary, or the tomb of Lazarus, the latter a deep excavation, descended by long winding flights of stairs, and seeming more like a well than a tomb. But here, again, the whole natural scenery and the general locality was that of the place where Jesus found his pleasant suburban home and his intimate friends, and the region where he wrought his stupendous miracle. On our return we came by the southern path, and could feel no doubt that a good part of the way we were walking in his frequent path, and especially when he made his triumphal entry into the city. Fig, olive, and other trees reminded one of the connection with ancient times, and at last we reached the point whence the city opened up beautifully on the sight, no doubt nearly the same spot where he beheld the city and wept over it.

CHAPTER XXI.

TO JERICO.

THE time came for bidding farewell to the ancient city of the Great King. Our preparations to leave were signalized by a slight controversy with our dragoman. He had been hitherto quite unexceptionable while among the Arabs, but now he evidently thought his opportunity had come. We learned, in the first place, that he was not intending to make the convent the customary present for our board, although we were actually paying him seven times the daily amount while lying still in and around Jerusalem. He said the convent was a charitable institution. We found that for such tricks the race of dragomans was in bad repute at the convent, and that travellers under their charge were cautiously admitted. But an appeal to the excellent American consul speedily settled the matter. The dragoman also insisted that, as our contract mentioned Damascus as one of the places to which he was bound to take us, though leaving the whole decision in our hands, we were bound to be taken to Damascus whether we would or no, and that, too, though the road to that city was, and had been for four weeks, effectually blocked by heavy snows. He was quite content to wait for a thaw, and have us pay him for waiting. But this too was summarily disposed of by the consul, to his disgust.

On Monday, March 22d, we set off for the Dead Sea and the Jordan, by way of Bethlehem. As we mounted our

horses the windows of heaven opened on us again, and the rain poured heavily for an hour and a half, till we entered Bethlehem. Passing once more the undisputed burial-place of the beloved Rachel, we in due time reached the equally undoubted place in which Ruth gleaned, and where David



BETHLEHEM.

and Christ were born. The long straggling village of gray limestone houses slopes off north-easterly on the side of a projecting ridge, and a little separated from it stands the high building that contains three distinct convents clustered upon three sides of the Church of the Nativity. As we

wound our way up to the convent, on the hill-side at our left, were olive, fig, and pomegranate trees, and vineyards; and down in the valley below I saw green fields of grain, which freshly recalled the days of Boaz and the oldest and most beautiful of pastorals.

Whatever may be the traveller's views of the sacred spots here shown, the place is venerable in his eyes. As he stands in the cave chapel below the church, where sixteen silver lamps shed their light upon the star in the pavement marked as the birthplace of Christ, he certainly will not indulge in very absolute denials of the fact, when he remembers that Justin, in the first half of the second century, speaks of the birthplace as a cave near the village; that Origen, in the third century, affirms the fact and place to be matter of notoriety even among the heathen; and that Helena, in the following century, erected her church over a place long had in reverence. But however this may be, in another subterranean cave the visitor stands in an unmistakable place—the study of the great father Jerome, where he, during more than thirty years, elaborated his translation of the Bible and his commentaries; while in an adjoining room you stand by his undoubted tomb. It is something, too, on ascending above-ground to enter the oldest specimen of Christian architecture—the fine basilica built by Helena within two years of the Council of Nice. In visiting the chapel of the twenty thousand slaughtered “Innocents,” the traveller will naturally erase only three ciphers from the sum total.

With the customary stock of Bethlehem wares of olive-wood and mother-of-pearl, we set forth for Mar Saba and the Dead Sea, taking many a long lingering look of the historic village and valley, till they were shut out of sight. Our journey kept us going up and down and circuitously

about, very much like riding indiscriminately over the roughest hilly portions of Vermont and New Hampshire without regard to roads or paths, except sheep-paths. It had been a somewhat similar experience in our excursion to Neby Samwil and Gibeah; and so it proved subsequently through the hill-country, unless where we followed wadies or the occasional plains. The roughness of the surface I was not fully prepared for, and yet a roughness that was manifestly compatible with a singular fertility and productiveness under cultivation. The curse of the country is that the heel of the Turk is on it now, and there is no encouragement to industry and no safety for its fruits. On the way, as we reached the sunny exposures, we could look down over the green slopes and declivities, and see them perfectly brilliant with a carpeting of flowers of every bright color. This feature of the landscape was continually forced upon our admiration. I had never seen anything to compare with the abundance and variety of this floral display.

As we rode on, the clouds nearly dispersed; and when at length we reached a height from which we could look down upon the Dead Sea, it was a sort of apocalyptic vision, literally "clothed with a rainbow." On its blue waters rested one end of the broad beautiful arch, and the other was far up on the hills toward Jerusalem. At length we struck the southern edge of the deep gorge of the Kedron, which comes direct from the foot of Jerusalem, and we followed it till, in three hours from Bethlehem, we came in sight of our halting-place, the old convent of Mar Saba, the strangest building in Palestine, and one of the most singular places in the world. It is perched upon the very edge of the deep rock-ravine of Kedron, and made up, inside and out, by an odd mixture of natural rock and masonry. Its central feature is the rude den out of which Saint Sabas drove its orig-



THE DEAD SEA, FROM THE NORTH.

inal lion proprietor, and where he spent the remainder of his long life of ninety-four years. Above and below and around this dark hole are piled in confusion chambers, cells, caverns, chapels, and steep stair-ways, and rock-hewn irregular passages, and buttresses and a tower or two, all enclosed by a massive wall that bars out the Bedouin and the woman alike. Here, where nearly fourteen centuries ago the old belligerent saint gathered round him his thousands of disciples, some forty ignorant and dyspeptic Greek monks now scarcely vegetate. No meat is ever allowed them, and eggs only on Sundays; and their mental nourishment has been found by travellers to be in the same proportion. As one of our tents had been thoroughly drenched on the way by the fall of the mule in the midst of a stream, we were glad to take up our abode in the convent, and so to find our way through its various intricacies at our convenience. As we emerged the next day, and at a turn of the way looked back upon this strange home, with a slight knowledge of the character of its inmates, it was difficult to think of it in any light very different from that of a nest of swallows in the side of a huge sand-bank, or a wasp's nest glued to a rock.

We sent our baggage direct to Jericho, and ourselves pushed on toward the Dead Sea. It was a wild ride, over hill and valley, and occasionally along a steep precipice some two hundred feet deep or more. At length we came forth from the hilly seclusion, and caught sight of the strange sheet of water lying dark in its deep bed of yellow limestone cliffs. The cloudiness of the day prevented the blinding glare of the rocks, and the whole scene was dreamy and weird. As we descended the hills, we had a startling reminder of the unique situation of this leaden lake, when our aneroid barometer ceased its indications. It was calculated to start from the ocean level, and failed to provide for

which tasted much like a strong solution of common salt and Glauber's salts.

From this northern extremity of the sea we rode northeasterly an hour to the fords of the Jordan. We had a formidable adventure almost at the outset. The region immediately before us was marshy, and the late rains had made a part of this plain almost as watery and muddy as a "slough-hole" on a western prairie. In truth, it was for some distance an almost continuous sheet of water, with clumps of tall grass and some bushes rising above the surface. We pushed boldly in. The dragoman was quite willing to be the hindmost, but we obliged him to lead. For a few minutes all went comparatively well; but soon came a floundering and plunging. The horses sank to their bellies, and once or twice still deeper, until sheikh, dragoman, and three of our company, were rolled successively from their seats, to pick their way by leaping from clump to clump as best they could. I was the only person fortunate enough to get through without dismounting, and there were times when the prospect of getting through in any way seemed quite uncertain. We afterward learned that, on the same day, a lady in a company that preceded us had been thrown at full length into the mud and water. However, we were soon safe on firm ground, and made our way to the fords of the Jordan.

The river was very high. We were, indeed, fortunate enough to see it in the state in which it is described in Joshua, "overflowing all its banks"—that is, the whole line of its banks. The turbid stream rushed along like a mill-race; and though it had fallen from its greatest height, the proper banks of the channel were invisible, and indicated only by lines of oleanders and other shrubs and trees. The ordinary resting and camping place of travellers was com-

pletely under water, and inaccessible. The current was so swift that a gentleman of another company, who went in to bathe, was not suffered by his friends to do so without a rope most unromantically attached to his person. Turbid as the river was, we drank of its water at lunch, as we sat near a clump of oleanders. Here the whole situation of this singular river, the Jordan, or "Descender," was apparent: first a proper channel, bordered with trees and shrubs, in which the stream ordinarily is confined, and plunges along; this channel lying in a low valley, from which you soon rise by a slight ascent to the general "plain [*kikkar*] of the Jordan," here several miles broad, and itself enclosed by high hills, almost mountains, on each side. The soil, in some portions, is singularly rich; and in this deep depression, shut in by its high mountain walls, the heat is almost tropical. Jericho was once "the city of palms."

The way we followed westward from the fords must have been on the line of Joshua's march after the crossing of the Jordan; and a mile east of Riha, or Eriha, must have been the Gilgal of his first encampment, some three miles or more from the fords. The forlorn village of Riha is the site of the Jericho of Herod, where Christ healed the blind man, and called Zaccheus. Here were to be seen plenty of old squared stones lying scattered around, and many others built into low Arab shanties. I saw a good many fig-trees, but no "sycamores," although some specimens still exist in the vicinity. The palm has wholly disappeared. We looked around the scene of ruin and desolation, but felt little inclination to venture within the fence of dry thorns that encloses the petty village, notoriously filthy and vile. As we rode a mile and a half north, to the site of the more ancient Jericho of Joshua's days, the soil revealed its singular fertility in noble grain-crops and weeds of monstrous

growth. I rode by specimens of wild mustard as high as my head on horseback, "a tree in which the fowls of the air may lodge." A paved road, traceable for some distance, and scattered ruins on the way, tell of former days of glory. We passed at length by a fountain and stream now called Ain es Sultan. A considerable reservoir is enclosed by stone walls, and there is particularly a high wall just above the place where the water gushes forth from the hill-side. This is one of the unquestionable antiquities, the fountain of Elisha. From the very place of its origin the water rushes off a good-sized brook, and various ruins, one evidently of a mill, are found along its path.

We pitched our tents some rods north of the fountain. The whole area around them was raised above the general level. We were encamped, no doubt, within the space around which the children of Israel once marched for seven days blowing their jubilee trumpets, and where Achan found the goodly Babylonish mantle and the wedge of gold. Just west of our camp, toward the mountain, were two parallel rows of mounds, extending some distance north and south. They rise, in their highest parts, toward a hundred feet above the plain. In one or two places excavations had recently been made to a considerable depth, and they revealed the fact that the mounds are made of the debris of old buildings. The outline of crude brick walls of houses could be seen to the bottom of the excavations, and the earth was full of fragments of pottery. In various directions are to be seen ruins of later date, and in the side of Mount Quarantania, which rises abruptly a little farther west, are abundant artificial caves, once tenanted by hermits and anchorites. The whole plain lying eastward was covered with luxuriant vegetation, a very picture of fertility. But no dwelling, I think, is to be seen anywhere within the

probable circuit of the ancient city. Nothing even remains to indicate that there ever were walls here to fall down. The removal of all its building material is, of course, sufficiently accounted for by the rise of the neighboring and later city—the invariable law of Oriental building being to plunder an older place in order to build a newer.

In looking over this region of desolate fertility capable of being, as Lot once thought it, “the garden of the Lord,” and in viewing many other similar scenes in Palestine—indeed, the whole of that once highly cultivated region, where the very traces of fertility are so obliterated that casual observers fail to see them—the prime thought that rises in one’s mind is of the hideousness of the government whose heavy hand has so cursed the land for centuries, and crushed out all the stimulus and the hope of honest toil.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LINE OF JOSHUA'S MARCH.

ON the morning of March 25th we left the scene of Joshua's great demonstration, and probably still farther followed his track. Our route being the most direct from Jericho to Ai, the place of his next attack, may have coincided, in the main, with that of the first and second expedition against that city, and with the repeated line of march back to "the camp of Gilgal"—unless we suppose with Keil, against the common opinion, a transfer of the camp, not even hinted at, to another Gilgal, now Jiljilia, some miles north-west of Ai. By the same path, most likely, had Elijah and Elisha come down on the last journey of the great prophet.

Our way entered at once into the mountain range on the west, Quarantania, the traditional region of the forty days' temptation. At first we followed Wady Kelt, which Robinson thought might be the brook Cherith of Elijah's retreat, but in regard to which Tristram, Grove, and others have objected. After winding about for a long time in this wady, we climbed up the hill-sides, till we had a superb view of the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea, of the latter our farewell view. One of the most remarkable aspects of the country at this time was the complete carpeting of flowers that covered it. This morning it was beautiful with almost every shade of color—red, white, blue, yellow, scarlet, crimson, purple. Large areas were almost sheeted with the

scarlet of the anemone *Coronaria*, supposed by Tristram and many others to be the "lily of the field," though not a liliaceous flower. After a rough ride we reached, in time for lunch, the rock Rimmon, where the six hundred Benjamites were hemmed in for four months. The rocky hill rises sharply from a very deep ravine, which encloses it nearly all round. A few houses and an ancient cistern mark the place. From the abrupt edge on the south-west the view was wide and, in its immediate surroundings, historic. Just south, three miles away, was Michmash, the place of Jonathan's chivalrous adventure. Less than two miles south-west of us was the probable site of Ai (which we had passed on the way), showing a ravine on "the west side of Ai" for the ancient "ambush," and a plain or valley "on the north side of the city" for Joshua's main army of assault, and plenty of places from which the signal spear could have been seen. Less than four miles due west, though hidden by intervening heights, was Bethel.

It was from this centre, apparently, that Joshua pushed his conquests, first against Gibeon, thence southward against Lachish, Eglon, and Hebron, and afterward north to the sea of "Chinneroth," and Mount Hermon, and the waters of Merom, "even unto Baal-gad, in the valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon." Instead of coming from the south and fighting his way up over the whole length of the mountain chain of Palestine, bristling with strongholds, he had entered it by a flank movement near the centre. Crossing the Jordan at the time of year when the river seemed impassable, striking terror by the capture of Jericho, he had, by a march of fifteen miles, taken another stronghold, placed himself in the heart of the country, divided the hostile forces in two, and with singular energy struck first southward, then northward, carrying all before him, until with

an ancient Napoleonic strategy and impetuosity he had swept the land in detail.

We were also upon the line of the Assyrian march, so graphically depicted in Isaiah (ch. x.) where Sennacherib sweeps on from Ai ("Aiath"), leaves his baggage at Michmash, camps at Geba, while Ramah is afraid, Gibeah is fled, and "O poor Anathoth!" All these places lay along in close succession between us and the "hill of Jerusalem," against which he should "shape his hand."

In passing from Rimmon to Bethel, we traversed a very wild region. Our track, in places, reminded me, in its roughness and steepness, though not of course in its length, of the old bridle-path upon the White Mountains. At one spot I dismounted and led my horse, a thing which formerly I did not do on the White Mountains. Yet everywhere the rocky hill-sides, as well as the sloping valleys, were terraced; but everywhere the terraces were in utter ruins.

Before reaching Bethel we passed over the high region or "mountain east of Bethel," the scene of an ancient great arrival and departure. It was the region having "Bethel on the west and Hai [Ai] on the east," where Abram came and "pitched his tent, builded an altar, and called upon the name of the Lord;" the place to which he returned from Egypt; the place from which Lot lifted up his eyes and looked before he travelled to the plains of the Jordan; the place in which God called upon Abram to look northward and southward and eastward and westward, over the land that now became the land of promise. This was the centre from which he was to walk through the length and breadth of the land. The region commands a wide view; so much so that even from Bethel itself, although surrounded on all sides but the south by higher ground, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem can be seen. And a few minutes before reach-

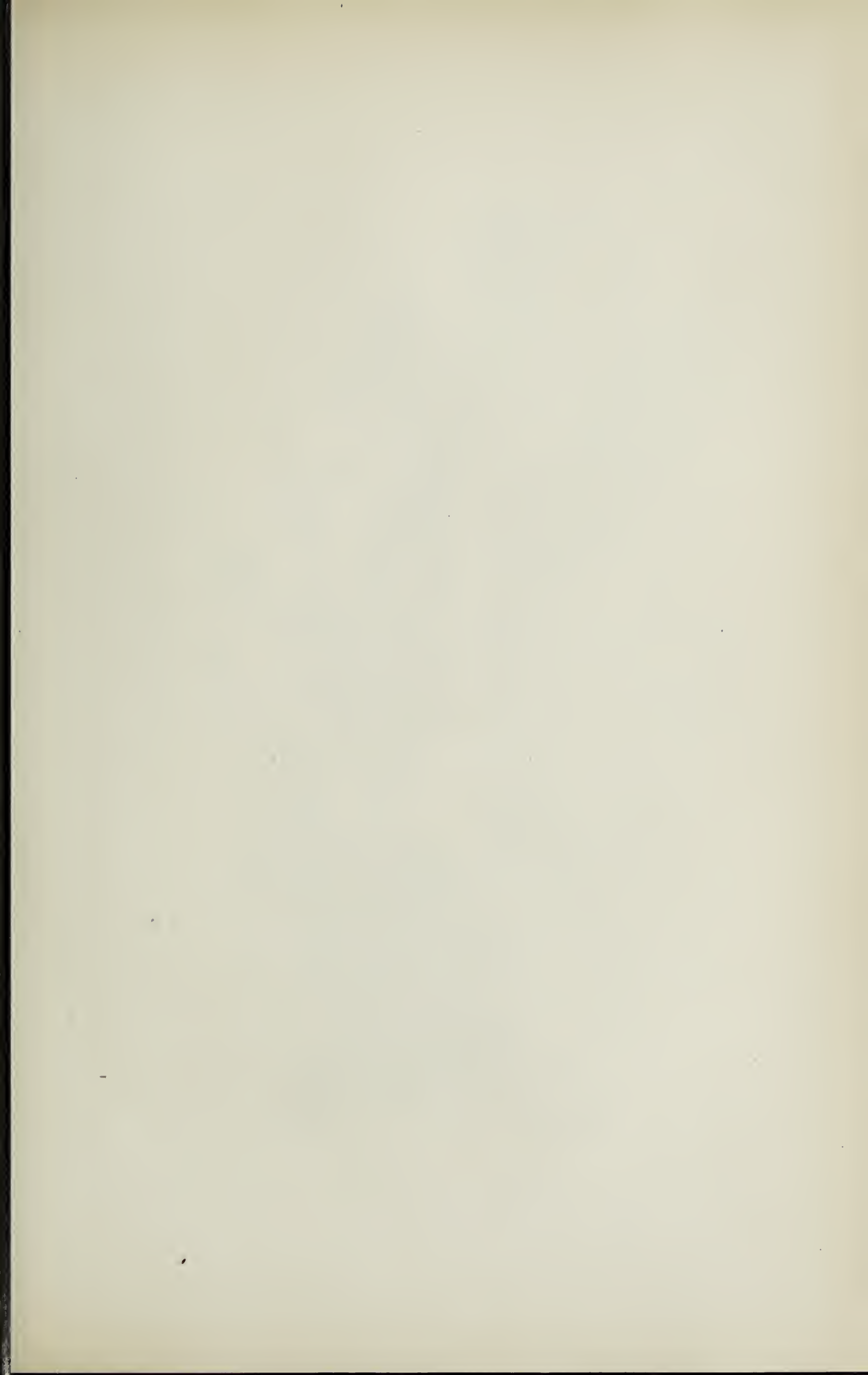
ing our camping-ground on this lower place, I could look off to the south-east and see the general depression of the Jordan and the Dead Sea valley. In travelling over these places one begins early to perceive that not only is the geography and scenery of Palestine "a fifth gospel," but it is a second Pentateuch, book of Joshua, and Kings. The feeling deepened at every step of the journey.

Crossing the ridge, we descended a little into a valley on the south-western declivity, where two copious springs poured out of the ground. A large stone reservoir (314 feet by 217) once collected their waters, but on three sides it is now in a ruinous condition, to match the whole state of the country. Twenty minutes before our arrival the rain set in, and our tents were an hour and a half behind time. I took shelter for awhile in the remains of a Greek church, five minutes' walk to the south-east. On the higher ground northward I found several acres of ruins, presenting nothing distinct, but mostly promiscuous heaps of stones and foundations. It was the vicinity where Abram pitched his tent and built his altar; where Jacob had his vision and returned to bury Deborah; where Jeroboam placed his temple, had his altar rent, and his hand withered. From the water that flowed out of the hill-side, native girls were carrying jugs balanced on their heads, as in the days of Abraham; but the young men brought us down two thousand years toward our time by offering to sell us coins of Roman date which appeared not to have been made in Birmingham. When our tents arrived the rain was falling fast, and the prospect of encamping upon a soil thoroughly drenched was not hopeful. But mats on the ground and a cheerful dinner soon changed, if not the outlook, yet the inside condition, and we listened complacently to the pattering lullaby, which continued nearly through the night.

In the morning (March 26th) the rain suspended long enough for us to fold our tents and get fairly under way, then followed us at intervals throughout the day. We had a good deal of similar experience during the remainder of our journey. But all being in vigorous health and strength, we resolutely faced exposures which sadly deranged, and in some instances wholly broke up, certain larger and mixed companies. Indeed, the season was out of joint. Traditionally, there should have been almost no rain from about the 10th of March to the 10th of April. But we experienced it about every other day, and we took Palestine, or rather Palestine took us, by storm. We entered Bethlehem twice, Jerusalem, Bethel, Jenin, Shechem, Samaria, in the rain. And it seemed at times as if the Mediterranean—for the wind came from the sea—was migrating up into the mountains. The road-beds, whenever we left the rocks, were masses of mud, in which our horses floundered and sunk, and the loaded beasts sometimes fell with their burdens, to the great detriment of the contents of our valises. Indeed, our tents fell hopelessly behind us. There was a grim pleasure in casing ourselves in india-rubber from top to toe, looking much like modern Knights Templar, and defying the elements. We occasionally broke the force of the wind and the rain, at first, by umbrellas, but these failed us in the hour of need. I remember well the rocky, slippery hill-path before reaching Samaria, where my horse stumbled, twice recovered himself, and then fell sidewise, rolling me safely off, but finally smashing the useful umbrella which had sheltered me from sun and rain all the way from Keswick, England. The rain was pouring in torrents, but there was a sense of relief in getting rid of all the effeminacies of civilization, and simply roughing it. Of course, this state of things gave us longer and harder rides,

early starts, and late arrivals. But it certainly impressed on our memories the physical features of Palestine, and gave us some vivid experiences and associations. It will not be easy, for example, to forget the rich soil of the southern branch of the Plain of Esdraelon, the place where our horses floundered till we were obliged to dismount and wade in the mud and water; and where I emerged with my feet enlarged to twice their natural size and weight by the adhesive loam. The only serious inconvenience we experienced was from our saddles becoming wet by the driving of the rain, and the careless exposure of them by the Arabs when we were dismounted. A transient tinge of sciatica was the penalty for this. Otherwise, it was a season of exhilaration, healthy appetite, and sound sleep. Still, in view of the badness of those winter roads, and the immense difficulties of travel, which, as we learned and saw, broke down many of the horses and mules employed by us and other travellers, I could well understand the force of the Saviour's admonition, "Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter;" and I could appreciate the utter improbability of any census being appointed by the ancient government which would have required long journeys in the winter season.

The day's ride north from Beitin, or Bethel, though a great thoroughfare in all times, presented less of historic interest. The whole region, as we went northward, was much better wooded than southern Palestine, and gave a more distinct, yet faint, impression of what it might have been in former days. And yet how is it possible now adequately to conceive of a land where once every eminence was crowned with its city or village filled with industries and surrounded by cultivation, but is represented now only by shapeless ruins? We rode through several miles of fig-





ENTRANCE TO NABLOUS.

trees spreading widely on each side of the way, and then in like manner through a large mass of olive-trees.

Before arriving at Ain Haramiyeh (the "Robbers' Glen"), a favorite halting-place of travellers, we went through a singularly wild, picturesque valley, narrow, continually curving, and rising high above the road by a series of terraces covered with olive and fig trees. I saw one man with his mattock "digging round" his fig-trees, but not "dunging" them.

A little off from the direct road, on the right, lay the ancient site of Shiloh (Seilun), once famous as the first home of the Tabernacle, the scene of Samuel's consecration and Eli's death, now showing nothing but ruins, modern and ancient.

At one o'clock, when we sat down to lunch under an old olive-tree at the foot of a long slope on the western side of our path, I counted on the opposite slope ten, and in some places nineteen, rows of olive-trees rising in successive, irregular terraces up the hill. All through this country, thus far, this terracing of the hill-sides for cultivation is the standing proof of the vast amount of careful labor once expended on the soil. It is like the banks of the Rhine. In most cases the terraces are more or less completely in ruins. With our meals we had had native figs, small but good, and at times native raisins from Jericho.

Nablous, or Shechem, has been often described in detail. It was raining hard as we rode along the beautiful plain south of it, admiring its beauty and fertility, till we came to the valley that runs directly to the west between mounts Ebal and Gerizim, the place where Joshua signalized his victories and God's covenant more than three thousand years ago.

Just at the angle where the valley leaves the plain, a

half-hour from the city of Nablous, is the undoubted well where Jesus "sat thus" fatigued, and conversed with the woman. We rode up to it through a ruined enclosure. Here we looked down into a vaulted chamber some ten feet square, in the bottom of which is the well. It was found by Maundrell to be one hundred and five feet "deep," although now but seventy-five or eighty. It is cut in the solid rock, nine feet in diameter. The mouth of it is covered with a mass of stones that had fallen from the roof above. In the present state of the soil, we were warned that it was not safe for us to attempt any special exploration, had there been anything to add to the results of previous examinations. A little north of it is the low, square limestone building which is generally admitted to mark the burial-place of the faultless Joseph. The "Sychar" of our Saviour's time is supposed to be perpetuated in the name Askar, belonging to a hamlet half a mile north-west. As we rode into Nablous from the east, the road for quite a distance was now a running brook. We pushed through the whole city between Ebal and Gerizim on a straight, dark street, and encamped on a little area at the extreme west of the city.

In the evening the English missionary, Mr. El Karey, kindly called, and offered to take us to the Samaritan Synagogue. The little Samaritan community is now reduced to not more than a hundred and fifty. The high-priest received us, showed us into a rude, vaulted, whitewashed room, the synagogue, and produced from a recess, that was concealed by a curtain, the famous Samaritan Pentateuch, which we had come chiefly to see. He, however, practised the established ruse, and brought us first a more modern copy. Our guide at once knew the difference, and called for the genuine antiquity. He then brought an embossed

silver cylinder, which, on being opened, showed a parchment roll about fifteen inches wide, and evidently several yards in length, written in Samaritan characters. At the place where it is usually opened it is badly defaced. The high-priest has by this time abandoned all the pretence of awe and apprehension which he exhibited to Tristram, and the backsheesh necessary is reduced to a very moderate sum. The immense antiquity claimed for it (written by Abisha, the son of Phinehas) is, of course, hardly worth a contradiction. But the actual age of the manuscript is certainly a question of interest for competent investigators, if such there are.

Mr. El Karey himself claims to have fallen upon a remarkable passage concerning our Saviour among the old records of this people. In the annals of the priesthood he finds, as he alleges, a record supposed itself to be seven or eight hundred years old, and copied from a much older manuscript. His supposed discovery has been, I believe, frequently made known, and perhaps formally communicated. The form in which I took it down is as follows: "And in his days was born Jesus, the impostor, the son of Mary, the son of Joseph, the carpenter. His birth was in Bethlehem, and [he] professed to be a prophet in Nazareth, and he had a great many followers, whom he dispersed in the country. And after the death of Yohekerem, who was succeeded by Yohanatan, Jesus was persecuted and crucified in the days of Tabrobrus, through the standing men in the accursed city of Jerusalem." It does not distinctly appear that Mr. El Karey is in any way able to authenticate this record as being really ancient, while the internal improbabilities are sufficiently manifest.

But this little remnant of the Samaritan community and worship undoubtedly keeps the continuity of connection

with the time of our Lord. On the top of Mount Gerizim, just south of the town, is their sacred place, where they worshipped when Christ conversed with the woman at the well. It is a large rock surface, surrounded by traces of old walls. Toward it they still turn their faces in prayer, and they put off their shoes as they approach it. Not far away, lower down toward the town, is the spot where they still annually eat the paschal lamb, with staff in hand, shoes on their feet, and girdles (of rope) around their waists, "eating with haste," and all that is left "burning with fire," as witnessed by Mr. Porter and Dean Stanley. The custom is a separate and venerable link of connection with the most ancient observance of Israel in its departure from the land of bondage, as is also their fragmentary Bible, the Pentateuch, another bond of connection with the Jewish history at a point of divergence a century older than the Septuagint, and, as some think, as old as the days of Rehoboam. This slender thread of connection may soon pass away in the extinction of the little community.

Ebal on the north, and Gerizim on the south, carry us back to the intermediate point, the thorough possession of the land by Joshua, when the great warrior arrayed the tribes on these two eminences, while the Levites with a loud voice uttered the blessing and the cursing in their hearing. These eminences lie near the eastern end of the narrow valley that contains the town, and they rise abruptly, so near each other that when Tristram's two companions tried the experiment of reciting the commandments antiphonally from the two mountains, they heard with perfect distinctness. The view of these mountains from our camp at the western end of the city was very striking.



SAMARIA.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THROUGH THE BATTLE-FIELDS OF PALESTINE.

WE left Nablous (Shechem) on the morning of March 27th, and were soon attended on our way by showers of rain and hail. We took the road to Sebustiyeh, the ancient Samaria. The way at first continued westward down a valley filled with gardens and orchards containing half a dozen kinds of fruit-trees, and bordered by hill-side margins of vineyards and olive-trees. The little brook which we soon struck and followed was now swollen to a goodly stream. Near the ford where we crossed, a Roman arch told of the same heavy hand whose work we had tracked all the way from Chester, Lincoln, up the Rhine, to its central home, and again through Egypt, and now over the land of the covenant. Our path soon left the stream and began climbing the hills, and in two hours and a half we were at the foot of the sightly eminence where Omri placed the capital of the kingdom of Israel, and Ahab built the Temple of Baal. Rising as it does near the centre of a great basin, and encircled on all sides by distant hills, a stronger or a more showy location could not be found in the country. A brilliant object it must have been to the eye in its prosperous days, when its streets and splendid colonnades literally encircled the eminence, and all its public buildings stood displayed in their full proportions.

The first stage of historic association we encountered in the fine ruins of the Church of St. John, half way up the

hill, as we entered the modern village. The mutilated crosses of the Knights of St. John carry us back to the time of the Crusades, and the northern wall and tower to an older date, probably near to the time when its bishops attended the Council of Nice. Ascending to an area near the summit of the hill, we saw seventeen columns (two of them fallen), which, however, have lost every distinctive feature that would tell us whether they belonged to an alleged Greek church and monastery, or to a heathen temple. But as we wound around the hill on the horizontal belt or terrace that runs along on nearly the same level as the modern village, we were probably walking among the ruins of Herod's magnificence, through a colonnade that sweeps round the whole southern half of the hill for a distance of at least three-fifths of a mile. Sixty standing columns, and many fallen ones, in a row fifty feet in width, mark the line of a street more conspicuously showy than perhaps the world could offer elsewhere. On the northern slope of the hill we passed another solitary group of fifteen headless columns, which once formed an equally conspicuous object on this side. Fragments of columns were scattered here and there, and others could be seen lying at the foot of the hill.

No traces of any earlier date could be expected after the effectual demolition of everything destructible by John Hyrcanus. Before him, however, Alexander had been here and captured this stronghold, and before him Shalmanezzer; and we were looking forth upon the scene from which the defeated Benhadad "escaped on a horse with the horsemen," from which, afterward, the whole Syrian army "arose and fled at midnight," dismayed by an explicable noise, and to which the bleeding body of Ahab was brought in his chariot, when "the dogs licked up his blood." The complete absence of relics of those times, except the hill itself,

made it more difficult to realize the transactions than in most other places, where at least some reservoir, or rock-tomb, or old foundation-stones, offer a hint of the hoariest antiquity. As we rode away over the northern hills, we involuntarily lingered to take one more view of this romantic and attractive site, and its melancholy tokens of ancient grandeur.

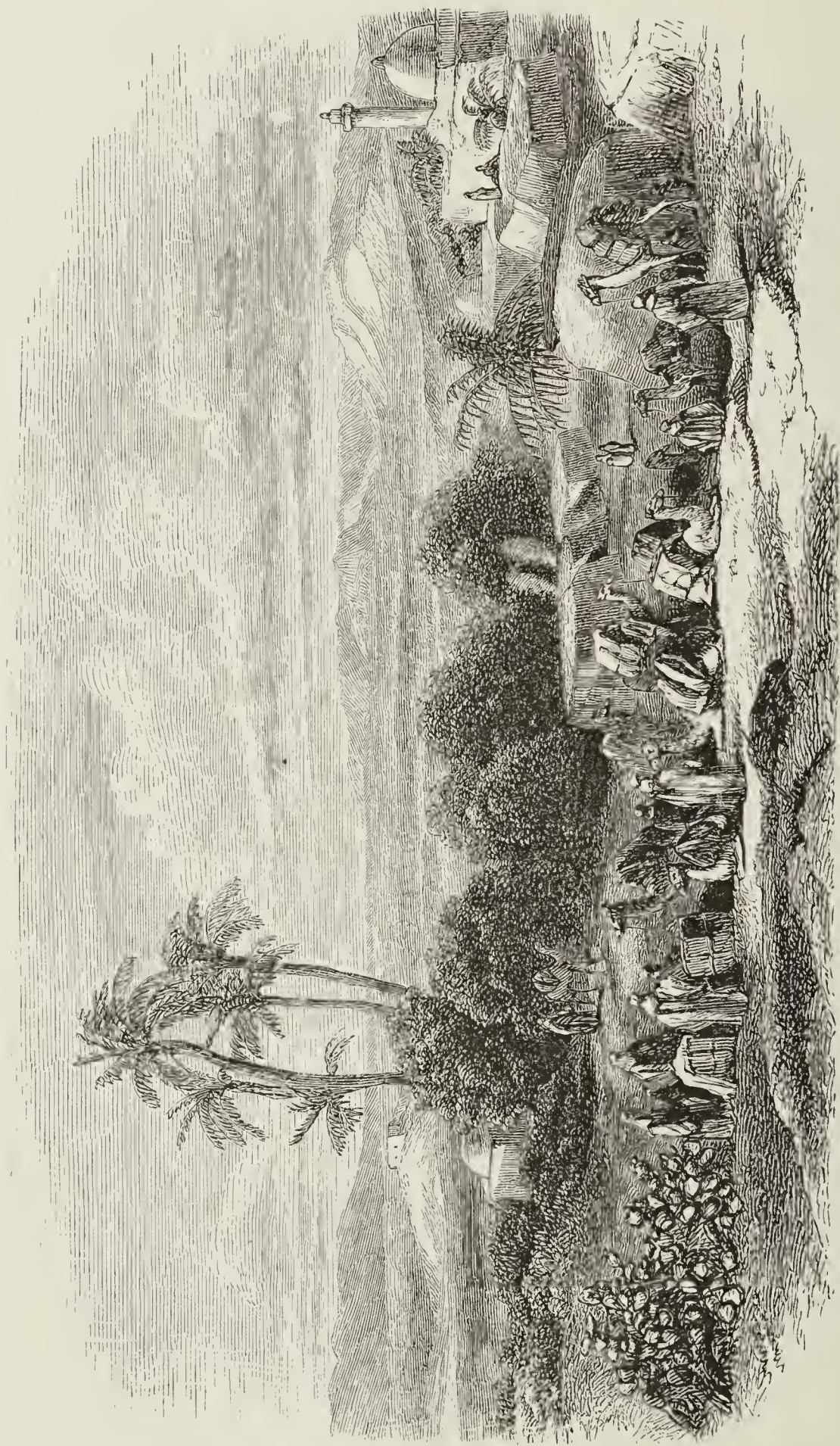
The remainder of the day's ride offered nothing of peculiar interest. We went over the usual variety of Palestinian mountain scenery. One of the most notable novelties to me was a large number of sycamore-trees, the structure of which at once reminds us of Zaccheus. The tree invariably sends out its branches low down, and at first almost horizontally. They are thus very easy to climb. The branches, however, after growing laterally several feet, then shoot upward, and, after drooping again, become singularly contorted. Through this region, also, I began to see large quantities of *bellan*, the low thorn-bush of Christ's parable of the sower. It was impossible, in various places, not to recognize the fact to which Mr. Thomson calls attention,¹ that here only could be the nativity of such a parable—the people living in villages from which the sower “went forth, to sow,” and to a region in the neighborhood, where there is no division of land by fences, but where the narrow footpaths furnishing “the way-side,” the rock-surface with “no depth of earth,” the “thorns,” and the “good ground,” all lie sometimes closely packed together within the compass of a few rods.

Our day's ride was very long and weary. The roads were in many places excessively bad, and forced us at times into long detours to keep on the rocky surfaces, thus avoiding

¹ The Land and the Book, i. 115.

the low grounds. In one place, just beyond the village of Kubatiyeh, to the west, lay the plain of Dothan, that is identified with the sale of Joseph and the blinding of the Syrian soldiery by Elisha. Here Lieutenant Anderson reports numerous rock-hewn, bottle-shaped cisterns, that would furnish a suitable pit for the patriarch; and Tristram found "the best pasturage in the country," and breakfasted by an ancient well, round which, possibly, Jacob's sons may have sat talking over their bargain with the merchants. Upon the east of us lay a great sheet of water covering the ground where the road usually went. Our loaded mules had at times much difficulty in struggling through with their burdens. Oriental indifference and selfishness was well exhibited in a little incident that occurred on the way. As we began to ascend a hilly part of the road, we overtook an Arab boy, about twelve or fourteen years old, driving a donkey which was loaded with a large bag, apparently of grain. The load was heavy, and, in the struggles of the animal, lost its balance and came to the ground just as we approached. The bag was utterly beyond the strength of the boy to manage. He burst out into a cry of despair, and wrung his hands. There was no house anywhere around, nor any living being to be seen but ourselves. Our escort, dragoman and all, were going coolly by, leaving the poor little fellow in his wretched plight; and it required a very positive assertion of authority to make them stop for two minutes and relieve the boy. There surely was need enough now in Palestine for another legislation like that of old, more than covering this case—"If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him."²

² Exod. xxiii. 5.

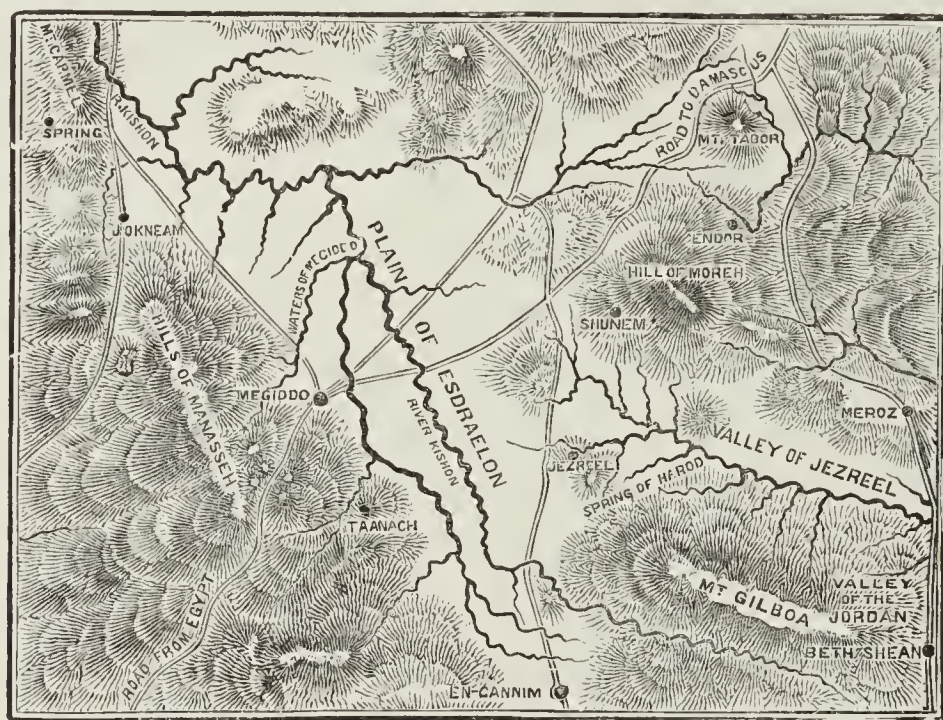


JENIN.

It was late when we reached Jenin (Engannim), cold, tired, and hungry. Our tents were far behind, and we did not see them again for some days. A brazier of coals warmed us up. A good dinner cheered our spirits, and in a stone house, in a small upper room about twelve feet square, we four slept soundly. We learned that, two or three days previously, the same small quarters had been the best and only accommodations that could be found for ten ladies belonging to a large company of travellers.

On Saturday, March 28th, we set off at eight o'clock, to be attended again all day, at intervals, by heavy showers. As we emerged from the village, we were among gardens hedged with prickly pear, and containing some orange-groves, and we looked back upon a huddled cluster of stone dwellings, relieved by here and there a tall palm-tree, and lying on the northern slope of a hill partly covered with olive-trees. Immediately before and below us lay the southern of the three arms into which the beautiful and fertile plain of Esdraelon, or Jezreel, as it strikes eastward, is divided by Mounts Gilboa and Little Hermon. Half an hour brought us to a watercourse, now full and broad, bordered on each side by a deep quagmire of reddish-brown loam, that was beaten into an uncertain mass of semi-liquid mud. A mounted Arab from the north warned us of the great difficulty of getting through. We found him a truthful Arab. One by one we floundered along, our horses sank, and one by one we plunged in and waded through. Some of us dismounted before reaching the stream, but I kept my saddle till we reached the farther side, and then my horse sank so deep that I was forced to come down. We came forth well smeared with the richest soil of Palestine, of which it took some time and pains so far to clear ourselves as to ride on our way. Three-fourths of an hour were thus

added to the usual time of crossing this southern branch of Esdraelon. Midway to Zerin there lay in sight, on the left, the hill-spur of Ta'annuk (Taanach), a great stronghold of the Canaanite in resisting Joshua, and afterward (in conjunction with Megiddo) head-quarters of Sisera, in the contest with Barak. Four miles farther north, also on the left, and nearly due west of Jezreel, lay the site of Megiddo (Lejjun), where the good Josiah fought the Egyptians and



MAP OF THE VALLEY OF ESDRAELON.

received his death wound;³ and as we held on our way, we must have been on the road by which Ahaziah fled, to be overtaken and killed.⁴ Passing by the western extremity of Mount Gilboa, we rose upon a hillock occupied by a few low huts, but in its name, Zerin, representing the name and site of the old Jezreel, the place of Ahab's palace, Naboth's vineyard, Jehu's onset, and Jezebel's destruction. The starving dogs of the village are still numerous enough to devour Jezebel in a single night. But not a vestige of the ancient

³ 2 Chron. xxxv.

⁴ 2 Kings ix. 27.

glory can be seen here—unless we except some broken sarcophagi, sculptured with the crescents that symbolized the Zidonian goddess Ashtaroth, and two that were whole, one of them now used as a horse-trough. In the rubbish-heaps covered by the modern hovels, there may or may not be vestiges of the ancient palatial glory of the place. We rode by numerous reservoirs with well-like openings, said to be modern excavations for grain.

From the dirty village we went down the hill-side easterly, to look upon the fountain, a mile and a half distant, “the well of Harod,” of Gideon’s adventure,⁵ and the “fountain of Jezreel,” the scene of Saul’s last encampment.⁶ Ordinarily a trickling rivulet with a limpid pool of forty feet diameter, it was now a considerable body of water, with a sizable stream issuing from it. It lies just at the northern base of Mount Gilboa, up which Saul’s troops were driven and defeated. Directly in front, across the valley, three miles north, on the southern declivity of Little Hermon, and in full sight, lay Shunem, where the Philistine army was encamped before the battle;⁷ while out of sight round the shoulder of the same eminence, and six miles away from his camp, lay Endor, still bearing the ancient name, to which Saul stole away across the plain, and in the face of the enemy, on the night before the battle. It is a place now of mud-built hovels and inhabited caves, fit homes for witches. Two miles down the valley, south-easterly, along the course of the stream that flows from Jezreel, lies Beisan, the stronghold of Bethshan, where Saul’s headless body was fastened to the walls, and his armor deposited in the house of the same goddess Ashtaroth,⁸ whose symbol is to be seen on the sarcophagi at Zerin.

⁵ Judg. viii. 1, etc.

⁷ 1 Sam. xxviii. 4.

⁶ 1 Sam. xxix.

⁸ 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

As we approached Shunem (*Solam*), situated on the north of the middle branch of the Esdraelon, and upon the southern slope of Little Hermon, we must have passed the region where the Shunamite's child received his fatal sunstroke, and crossed the track over which the resolute and silent woman, his mother, rode forth to Carmel, to seek and return with the great prophet. It was hard to bring up the ancient vision. After taking our lunch near a dilapidated hedge of prickly-pear, on the south-eastern side of this little 'forlorn village, we crossed the ridge and turned easterly to visit Nain (*Nein*). But before we turned, our attention was called to the little village of Fuleh, perhaps a mile to our left, where once was a fortress that Saladin took from the Hospitallers and Templars, and where Kléber and Bonaparte defeated a Turkish force ten times their number. Somewhere south-west, within the range of vision, must have been the camp of Nebuchadnezzar's great army, where Judith cut off the head of Holofernes; and almost directly in front, a little to the right, lay that region into which Vespasian's general, Placidus, decoyed the Jews from the top of Mount Tabor, to slaughter them along the plain. Well might the great plain of Esdraelon be fertile, for it has drank the blood of the Midianite, the Philistine, the Jew, the Roman, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Frenchman, the Englishman, the Saracen, and the Turk. It is a singular group to summon up to the imagination—Gideon, Saul and Jonathan, Deborah, Barak and Sisera, Ahab, Jezebel, Jehu, Josiah, Omri and Azariah, Holofernes and Judith, Vespasian and Josephus, Saladin and the Knights Templar, Bonaparte and Kléber—to say nothing of the great armed hosts that have marched across the celebrated plain. They would seem to have left their ban upon the fertile soil, for not one-fourth of this plain is now under cultivation.

It was a great transition for the thoughts, when we turned away from this scene of slaughter to the little village where the dead man heard the Saviour's voice, and the only son was given back to his widowed mother. Here we rode by a mound, some ruins, a few low flat houses of mud and stone, to look upon the numerous old tombs cut in the rocky hill-side back of the hamlet, whither, perhaps, that funeral procession was moving when Christ touched the bier.

An hour from Nain brought us across the third arm of the great plain to the foot of the abrupt line of hills in which lay Nazareth. Here we entered, by the mouth of a wady, directly into the hill region, and followed a long winding way for about an hour up and down, but on the whole climbing upward, till we emerged into the side of a valley or basin about a mile in length and a quarter of a mile wide, running from the north-east to the south-west.

In this little basin, eight hundred feet above the sea-level, and nearly half that height above the plain, carefully secluded from the outer world, lay before us the town of Nazareth. It is spread along the lower slope and in the ravines of the western hill, which rises five hundred feet above the valley, crowned with a Mohammedan wèly. Central in the thick cluster of white limestone houses is the spacious Franciscan convent, and above it, on the hill-side, the tall minaret of a mosque. Down below, in the centre of the basin, are grain-fields, gardens, and olive-trees, and beyond them, on the north-eastern outskirt of the village, is the ancient fountain of the place, the "Fountain of the Virgin."

As our tents were somewhere far behind us, we made directly for the convent. We were hospitably received. Our day's ride had been through numerous heavy showers; but next morning we awoke well rested and refreshed from the hardest week of exposure we had ever experienced.

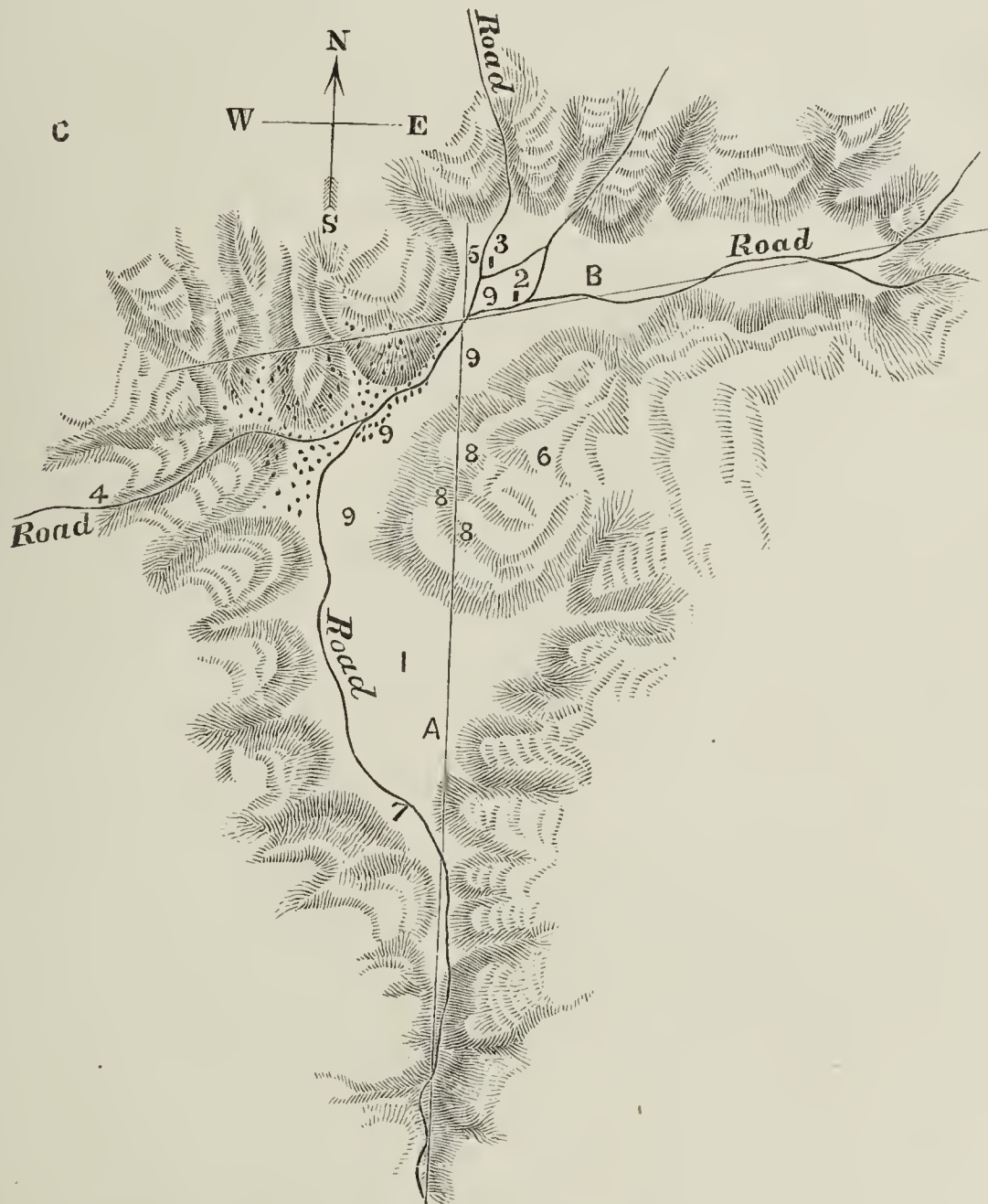
CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM NAZARETH TO GENNESARET.

SUNDAY morning opened bright and clear upon the place that was unknown to history till it became the home of Christ, but which is destined now never to be forgotten. Just as breakfast was over, a sound of singing brought us to the door. A procession of men and boys, with green branches in their hands, were moving to the Latin church. It was Palm Sunday.

The satisfaction of the traveller at Nazareth comes from the presence of those natural objects and scenes which alone remain unchanged. It is an intense satisfaction to feel assured that for a long course of years—from childhood to mature manhood—the Saviour's feet travelled over this whole region, that his eyes rested upon the same hill and valley, and that in all probability his mother brought water from the same village spring that is now thronged by girls and women with pitchers poised upon their heads. "The old town," as Tobler well says, "has, so to speak, disappeared without a vestige." Its antiquities would seem to be mostly modern. The Franciscan monks, under whose charge the sacred places have developed, did not get their foothold till the year in which the "Pilgrims" landed at Plymouth. The limestone of which the place is built is a decaying stone. The place was long unvisited by pilgrims and unoccupied by Christians, and we can for a thousand years historically follow the vicissitudes of the place, by which every

trace of its former condition must have perished. In the tenth century the Saracens destroyed it and laid it in ruins. In the year 1183 it seems to have been again taken and



MAP OF THE VALLEY OF NAZARETH.

A. Valley, about two miles long; B. One mile long; C. Hills with a wadi. 1. Wide part of the valley; 2. Fountain of the Virgin; 3. Chapel of Annunciation; 4. Entrance from west; 5. Usual camping-place; 6. Limestone spur; 7. Entrance from south; 8. Artificial caves; 9. Hedges of cacti.

plundered, desolated and burned. In the next century the Sultan Bibars destroyed it. In the sixteenth century Selim I. reduced it to the verge of destruction. In 1630 it was

wholly destroyed. Its first appearance before us, in the fourth century, was as a village, later as a town, and again in the eighth century a village; and after the varied and ruinous subsequent experiences which have been mentioned, it contained, in 1621, thirty well-built stone houses; a little later, two hundred dwellings; and soon again its houses were mostly excavations in the side of the hill. At one time there were eighty dwellings, consisting chiefly of holes, natural or artificial, in the rocks; and as late as 1756 there were but a hundred houses, poor and dilapidated. The population is now six or seven thousand.¹

The only marks of antiquity that Tobler mentions are a sarcophagus, apparently of Jewish times, some rock-tombs, and rock-cisterns. All the buildings about the fountains are quite modern. A church in Nazareth is indeed mentioned by Antoninus of Placentia.² About the year 570, and a hundred years later, according to Arculf,³ there were two churches, one of them over the site of Mary's house, although that house appears to have been miraculously removed to Loretto not till some centuries later. The other church, according to Willibald⁴ (A.D. 728), was over the place of the Annunciation. But these must have been thoroughly demolished when the Crusaders took possession.⁵ The place, moreover, until the time of Constantine—that is, for the first three centuries—was occupied, according to Epiphanius of the fourth century, only by Jews.⁶ All valid connection between the alleged sacred places and the transactions of the

¹ Tobler's Nazareth, pp. 36–50.

² Sepp's Jerusalem, ii. 75.

³ Arculf, in Bohn's Early Travels in Palestine, p. 9.

⁴ Willibald, in Bohn's Early Travels in Palestine, p. 16.

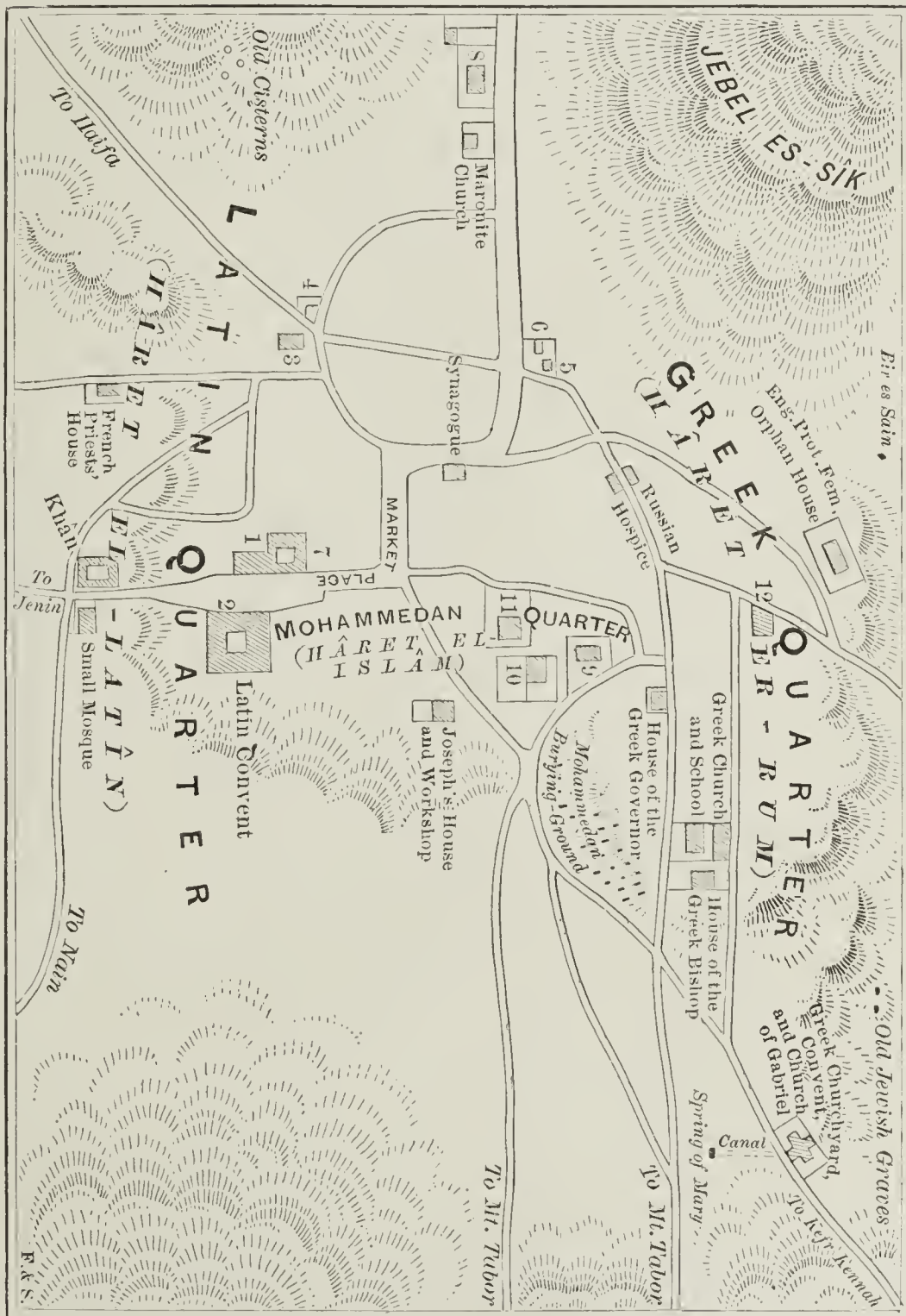
⁵ Sepp advances an alleged quotation from Eusebius to show that these churches existed in his day. But he does not give the reference, and Tobler says it is a riddle to him how Sepp found the passage.

⁶ Epiph. Adv. Hæres. i. 128, quoted by Robinson, iii. 196.

Gospel history, is doubly sundered by the late date of the earliest Christian occupancy and of the first historic allusions, as well as by the numerous and complete destructions

1. New quarters of the Latin Convent ; 2. Church of the Annunciation ; 3. Protestant Church ; 4. Protestant Parsonage ;
5. Protestant Mission School ; 6. Protestant Missionary's House ; 7. Convent of French Nuns ; 8. The " Mensa Christi ;"
9. House of the Mufi ; 10. House of the Turkish Governor ; 11. Mosque ; 12. Mission Hospital.

PLAN OF NAZARETH.



since. There are even two churches "of the Annunciation:" the Latin one, in the convent; the Greek one, over the fountain.

I chose therefore to give myself up chiefly to the influence of the natural scenery with which the Saviour must for some thirty years have been so conversant. Ascending from the valley surrounded by its fourteen rounded eminences, I sought the highest hill-top on the west. Here is one of the finest views in Palestine. The eye rested on the still snowy peak of Hermon northward, Mount Carmel and the Mediterranean Sea on the west, and the heights of Moab beyond the Jordan: a noble panorama, within which lay Gilboa, Tabor, Little Hermon, and the great plain of Esdraelon, the rounded heights being well shaded with forests, and the valleys now bright with rich verdure; while visible in various directions are the historic sites, Nain, Cana, Megiddo, Taanach, Endor, Jezreel. After a long and delightful view of this attractive scene, on the way down the mountain we looked for some precipice that might have answered the design of the Saviour's townsmen to hurl him down headlong. We were unsuccessful at the time, although we saw many steep and precipitous places. But the next day, by the aid of Mr. Zeller, the excellent missionary, with whose family we spent a delightful evening, we found in the rear of the Maronite church the precipice, still forty or fifty feet high, which Robinson, Tobler, Hackett, and others well regard as perhaps more probable than any other. The traditional Mount of Precipitation is two miles away from the town, and from the fountain which must always have determined the site of the town. An anger so hot as to attempt his violent death, and so cool as to travel two miles for a good place for the assassination, may not tax the credulity of a monk, but is difficult for an Anglo-Saxon to accept.

Our next visit was to the Fountain of the Virgin, under the altar of the Greek Church of the Annunciation, where we drank of the water. It flows thence and fills a large

reservoir at some distance below, from which it pours forth abundantly. Around the reservoir we encountered a large number of women and girls, coming and going with jugs and pitchers on their heads, just as it has been, no doubt, at this one village fountain from the time of Mary. One almost never sees *a man* bearing a pitcher of water; so that Christ's assurance, "There shall a man meet you bearing a pitcher of water," was a somewhat definite token.

From these natural objects it was a necessity to go the rounds of the fictitious places—*e. g.*, the house and workshop of Joseph, the place in which Christ ate with his disciples (where a huge rock rises in the middle of the room), and the synagogue where he taught. In the Convent church we were shown the grotto of the Annunciation, and, back of it, a series of chambers in the rock, one of them being Mary's kitchen, and a room having a door, now walled up, through which she was wont to go when she visited the fountain. The women whom we saw praying in the church evidently had no shadow of a doubt concerning the places and their extraordinary virtues. For me it was enough, and more than enough—more than I had ever supposed to be possible—that I was wandering and gazing about upon places and scenes where the Saviour and his mother lived and moved familiarly for years together. And I could not but feel how fitting was his early home in what must then have been an industrious and thrifty town, secluded in a fertile and beautiful valley, nestled in the bosom of the mountains, and encompassed by the most inspiring scenery of the chosen land. Here he lived near thirty years in communion with man and nature and God.

Next morning (March 29th) we had time to make other excursions, and ramble about the place before our tardy departure. As we rode out of town, we passed again by the

fountain, and saw at least twenty girls, with their vessels, going and coming. We climbed the north-eastern hill, looking back continually to photograph the sacred village—the once happy valley—on our memories, till it disappeared from our sight. An hour and a half of ascending and descending brought us to Kefr Kenna, which a large number of intelligent scholars still regard as the Cana of the wedding, and for which much may be said. Undoubtedly the bridle-path we were following was substantially the same way that the Saviour travelled from Nazareth to Capernaum. At the village of Reineh, about midway between Nazareth and Kefr Kenna, some women were using as a wash-tub an old sculptured sarcophagus, of which the ancient and perhaps distinguished occupant little foresaw his own summary ejection. (Here Lieutenant Conder would find Cana.)

In riding through the little old village, Kefr Kenna, we saw the house where “the wedding” took place, which was naturally close by a Catholic chapel; but the stone “water-pots” of that occasion we did not search out, although they are on exhibition. The vicinity was well filled with fruit-trees, comprising some venerable olives—and indeed the whole ride thence was through a region of great fertility. Yet we passed but one village (Lubieh) between Kefr Kenna and Tiberias. One could not but think, as he rode along, of the almost incredible statements of Josephus that Galilee in his time contained two hundred and four cities and villages; and again, that numerous cities and a multitude of villages everywhere here are so populous, by reason of the richness of the soil, that the least of them contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants.⁷ At present Nazareth shows but about seven thousand people, and Tiberias two thousand.

⁷ Life, section 45; Wars of the Jews, iii. 3, 2.



NAZARETH.

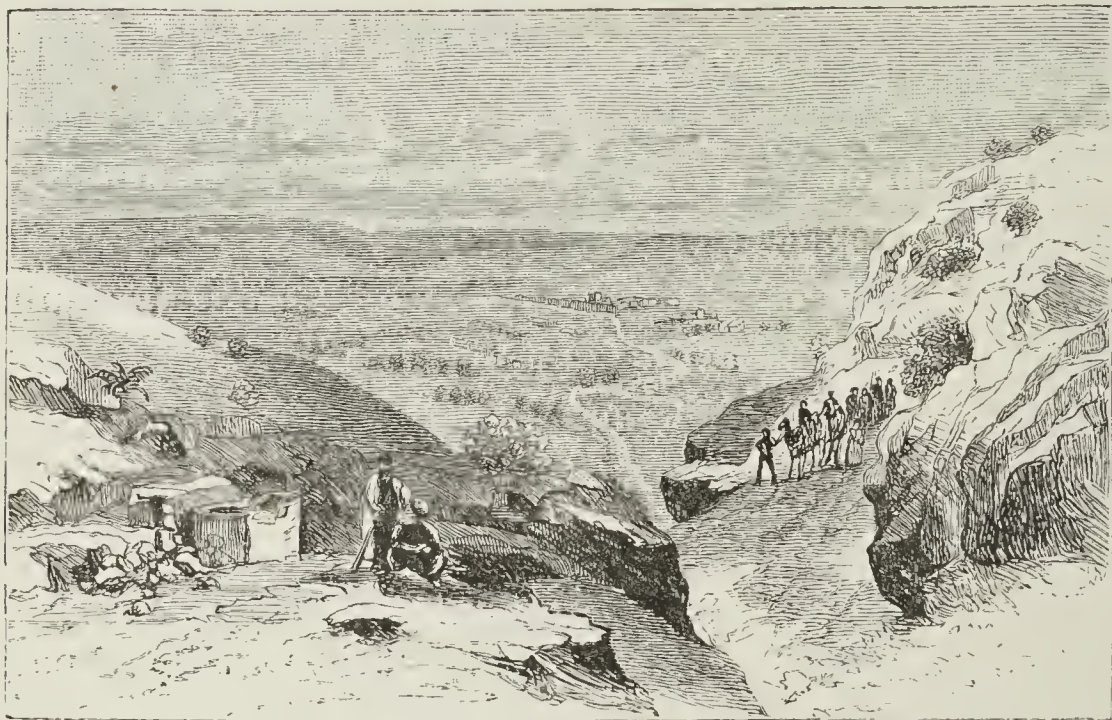
Still we could not forget the fact that the present population, not only of Palestine but of all Syria, is little more than two-thirds the number that in the time of Titus assembled in Jerusalem to the paschal feast, and less than twice the number that perished in the siege of the Holy City.⁸

We halted to lunch on the edge of a slight eminence skirting the plain along which our road lay, and around us were numerous traces of former dwellings, and particularly reservoirs cut in the rock. Among other things we saw an oil-press and a wine-press, although now not a vine was to be seen for miles around. The wine-press was an oblong excavation in the rock, connected by a little channel with a circular basin on a lower level. If we were to accept the account of Josephus as not an utterly baseless exaggeration, this region, now so desolate, must have been once a continuous town, or at least a great cluster of villages. And there is no good reason why it might not have been so. It is capable of supporting a large population, in the simple life of those days.

Riding by the foot of Hattin, over the place where, seven hundred years ago, Saladin annihilated the Crusaders' power in Palestine, we at length reached a ridge where we looked out on the distant hills of Bashan, and down far below us upon a dark blue pear or harp shaped sheet of water, lying snugly in a deep enclosure of high brown hills. Though less than thirteen miles long and seven miles broad, yet, measured by the events it has witnessed, it is a kind of Pacific Ocean. It was the Sea of Galilee. As we moved over the long way downward to its level—six hundred and fifty

⁸ Murray's Handbook gives the present population of Syria at 1,900,000. Josephus (Wars, vi. 9, 3) says that 2,700,000 were present at one Passover, and 1,100,000 perished in the siege.

feet below the Mediterranean Sea—we had time to grasp and fix its whole aspect and surroundings. It lacks boldness of outline, for its hills slope gradually back from the shore, or leave a narrow plain, as at Gennesaret and Butiha. But the lights and shadows lie sweetly on the hill-sides at night and morning; the northern end is broken into pleasant little bays, and Hermon looms grandly up beyond, far off, yet seemingly near. The whole aspect of the lake is one that suggests the thought and the lack of beautiful homes.



KEFR KENNA, SEEN IN THE DISTANCE.

It was still a long ride to the lake. The region we were passing, once brimful of life and activity, was utterly forsaken now. The entire lake lay spread before us, and nearly the whole of its coast-line, along or near which once lay the cities Tarichea, Tiberias, Hippos, Gamala, Gergesa, Bethsaida, Chorazin, Capernaum, Magdala, and Beth Arbel. Of these cities Tiberias once had its senate of six hundred;⁹

⁹ Josephus, Wars, xxi. 2, 9.

Gamala was able to resist and defeat Vespasian at the head of three legions, and when captured by Vespasian and Titus it lost four thousand in the fight, and five thousand who hurled themselves or were pushed down the precipices;¹⁰ while Tarichea, according to Josephus, was able at one time to furnish sixteen thousand and five hundred for slaughter in a sea-fight with the Romans, twelve hundred slain in cold blood in the stadium, six thousand captive youth to dig for Nero in the Isthmus, and thirty thousand four hundred to be sold into slavery.¹¹ The only existing visible representatives of all this strength and activity were the wretched little cluster of huts called Mejdol (Magdala), and the shrunken Tiberias, with its two thousand inhabitants. From our path not a vestige of the other places could be discerned.

It was near sunset when we entered Tiberias. We followed the road through the gate, but could easily have passed through the rents in the walls. The now squalid city, mentioned but once in the New Testament,¹² has been a chief home of Jewish learning since the destruction of Jerusalem. Here the Jerusalem Talmud was completed, and here is now what may be called the present theological school of the Jews. As we wound about through the Jewish quarter of the town, we saw the occupants busily engaged in whitewashing their houses within, in preparation, perhaps, for the Passover, which was just at hand. Our tents not having arrived, we first sought the Latin Convent, but its occupants had gone to the Easter festival at Jerusalem. At length we found shelter in a khan belonging, as we were told, to a Jew. Its one large public room, which we had to ourselves, massively built of stone throughout, walls, floor, and ceiling, was dark and strong enough

¹⁰ Josephus, Wars, iv. 1, 4-10.

¹¹ *Ib.* iii. 10, 10.

¹² John vi. 23.

for a prison. Just inside the door was a stone water-pot, "holding two or three firkins." That night and the next morning we had on our table some small red fish from the neighboring lake. They were good enough to the taste, but the effects upon two of us made us suspect that they were taken by the lazy method which Tristram witnessed,¹³ of throwing poisoned bread-crumbs upon the water. Though Tiberias is proverbially the place where "the king of fleas holds his court," it was our singular good fortune to encounter neither the monarch nor any of his subjects here or elsewhere, except in a subsequent and memorable experience at Kefr Menda.

¹³ Tristram's *Land of Israel*, p. 429.

CHAPTER XXV.

ON AND AROUND THE SEA OF GALILEE.

THE next morning (March 31st) we engaged a boat to make an excursion over the lake. Perhaps I should say *the* boat, for I saw no other except one that lay, dismantled and useless, southward upon the shore. And yet this was the lake on which Josephus once collected a fleet of one hundred and thirty boats at Tarichea for an attack on Tiberias.¹ The modern destitution is ascribed by Macgregor to "the absurdly prohibitory tax upon boats." Six swarthy Arabs pulled our oars as we headed north. The sun shone out cloudlessly, and the waters glistened like silver, and again and again the fish leaped out as we glided along. Once or twice the surface of the water was black with their backs, although a large part were, as of old, such as the fishermen "cast away." Tristram saw even greater multitudes: "Marvellous shoals, black masses of many hundred yards long, with the black fins projecting out of the water as thickly as they could be packed: the lake swarms with fish as I could not have believed water could swarm."² "Near Ain Tabigah," says Mr. Macgregor, "I paddled along the curved line of fishes' backs and flashing tails. Dense shoals moved in brigades, as if by concert or command."³ Captain Wilson speaks of the "dense masses that blacken the water," so thick that three were killed by one shot from a revolver.⁴

¹ Wars, ii. 21, 81.² Land of Israel, p. 113.³ Rob Roy on the Jordan, p. 337.⁴ Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 266.

About two miles north of Tiberias we were opposite the ruins at Wady Semakh, on the eastern shore, that are now called by the Arabs Kersa, or Ghersa, no doubt representing the ancient Gergesa. The name was first recovered, I believe, by our countryman, Mr. Thomson. The stream, or creek, sixty feet wide at its mouth, extends up half a mile or less to where the plain gives way to the hills, and begins at the foot of the deep gorge. Some rubble masonry and a few cut stones lie beneath the water near the mouth of the river; and on the south bank, near the junction of the plain with the hills, are the remains of an enclosing wall three feet thick; and within them, among other ruins, those of a large rectangular building lying east and west, perhaps a khan. A thick jungle of canes, many of them thirty feet high, here lines the banks. But the chief interest in the place centres in the region about a mile south, which, having been examined by Thomson, Captain Wilson, Macgregor, and more casually by Tristram, is now conceded to be the place where the herd of swine ran down into the sea. Here, in the words of Captain Wilson, "the hills, which everywhere else on the east side are recessed from a half to three-quarters of a mile from the water's edge, approach within forty feet of it: they do not terminate abruptly, but there is a steep even slope which we would identify with the 'steep place.'"⁵ Mr. Thomson also calls attention to the fact that it is not "a precipice on the edge of the sea, but that there is a narrow shelf between the base of the mountain and the sea, on which there was neither time nor space for the herd to recover themselves."⁶ But Macgregor, who spent some hours at the place, gives the additional statement that this short plain or shelf is fringed with oleanders, be-

⁵ Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 287.

⁶ The Land and the Book, ii. p. 36.



TIBERIAS AND LAKE, LOOKING NORTH-EAST.

down upon the water.¹⁰ As we headed for Tell Hum, we undoubtedly somewhere crossed the track where the disciples toiled in rowing all that boisterous night; and when we hauled up on the western shore, it could not have been very far from the place where Christ sat in the ship and taught the multitude on the shore. Around us lay spread out the varied and fertile scenery from which, on that occasion, he drew the materials for that wonderful series of parables, illustrating the various aspects of the kingdom of heaven, namely, *the wheat and the tares, the growing grain, the mustard-seed and its tall growth, the meal and the leaven, the treasure hid in the field, the net full of fishes*, and, by suggestion, *the pearl of great price*. It is a group of illustrations which, I have often thought, for felicity, variety, depth, and popular impression, might well be singled out, did it rise no higher, as one of the transcendent effusions of human genius. But it is the utterance, also, of the heavenly wisdom.

It was but a few steps from the shore, fringed with olean-
ders, to Tell Hum, a heap of ruins almost hidden by rank
weeds. Through a space extending half a mile in length
by a fourth of a mile in breadth, we walked and stumbled
over foundations and fallen walls of ancient houses. We
also spent some time in studying out the ruins of the "White
Synagogue," which Captain Wilson rather enthusiastically
considers to be, "without a doubt, the synagogue built by
the Roman centurion," if indeed this be the site of Capernaum.
It was a building of some seventy-five feet by fifty-six.
And though it has been mostly demolished, there still
remain Corinthian capitals, pedestals, double columns, and
other large stones, to testify of a once showy building. One

¹⁰ Thomson's *Land and the Book*, ii. 59; *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, pp. 408, 409; *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 265.

broken column formed the door-post and another supported the roof of a neighboring shanty, a little higher than one's head, that had been occupied jointly by an Arab and his cattle as a house and a stable. Whether this place were or were not Capernaum, beyond a question the Saviour must have often walked through these now obliterated streets.

Still, after all that has been said both for and against, I strongly incline to accept this place as the site of Capernaum. Recent discoveries have cast some light upon the question, removing objections and offering additional arguments. Robinson and Sepp strongly and ably argue against it on historical and traditional grounds. Mr. Porter accepts the result, and Macgregor comes to their help with nautical considerations.¹¹ They agree upon Khan Minyeh. De Sauley and Tristram fix upon Ain Mudawarah, yet farther south.¹² Ritter, Dr. Wilson, Thomson, Captain Wilson, Delitzsch, and others, decide for Tell Hum.¹³ The considerations which seem strongly to favor Tell Hum are: (1.) Its comparative vicinity to the place of Josephus's hurt, when he was wounded near Julias, on the banks of the Jordan, on which occasion¹⁴ he was carried first to Capharnaome, and removed that night to Tarichæa, probably by water. As a point much nearer than either Khan Minyeh or Ain Mudawarah, and as a place certainly of some size, as shown by the ruins, this is much more likely to have been the place to which to con-

¹¹ Robinson's *Researches*, ii. 403, 404; iii. 344, 358. Sepp's *Jerusalem*, ii. 173-183, 191; Macgregor's *Rob Roy on the Jordan*, pp. 362-387; Murray's [Porter's] *Guide to Palestine*, ii. 403-407; also Conder, *Tent Work*, ii. 184, 190.

¹² De Sauley's *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, ii. 265; Tristram's *Land of Israel*, pp. 444-448.

¹³ Ritter's *Geography of Palestine*, American translation, ii. 272-278; Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 139-149; Thomson's *Land and the Book*, ii. 8-10, 29-31; *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 292-301; Delitzsch's *Ein Tag in Capernaum*, p. 26.

¹⁴ *Life of Josephus*, section 72.

vey a wounded man for medical treatment. (2.) The extent of the ruins, which here are far the most considerable north of Tiberias. There is little to be found at Mudawarah, and nothing of importance at Khan Minyeh. "The mounds of Khan Minyeh," says Captain Wilson, "cover an extent of ground small in comparison with either those of Tell Hum or Kerazeh. We made some small excavations in them, but did not succeed in finding the remains of any building of great size. The walls were rudely built, and the fragments of pottery dug up appeared to be modern. There were traces of a thick wall surrounding the site. No fragments of columns, capitals, or carved stones were found in the ruins, nor could any be seen in the walls of the khan, or round the tombs close by—a fact which seems to indicate that the ruins are of modern date, or at least never contained any buildings such as the synagogues or churches found elsewhere, as in all other places old material is invariably built into the walls of later buildings where they are near old sites."¹⁵ But not only are the ruins at Tell Hum extensive, but the White Synagogue is the ruin of the finest building found in Palestine. "It was," says Robinson, "of unusual size and magnificence, surpassing everything else of the kind which we saw elsewhere."¹⁶ It corresponds, as Khan Minyeh does not, to the vestiges of what appears to have been the chief city on the northern front of the lake. The remains of another building found here might answer for the ruins of a church mentioned by Antoninus. (3.) The relative situation of Kerazeh, which is regarded by Thomson and Captain Wilson, with no little reason, as Chorazin, gives additional strength to the opinion. Jerome mentions Chorazin as two

¹⁵ Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 273.

¹⁶ Robinson's Researches, iii. 346.

miles from Capernaum,¹⁷ and Willibald's journey along the lake (about 721 to 727 A.D.) makes him pass northward from Tiberias through Magdalum, Capernaum, Bethsaida to Chozazin.¹⁸ Now, just about two or two and a half miles north of Tell Hum, a little off from the shore, but on the slope of the hill-side, lies the mass of ruins now called by the natives Kerazeh. Captain Wilson reports¹⁹ the ruins as covering "an area as large, if not larger, than the ruins of Capernaum" (Tell Hum). Here are relics of a synagogue with Corinthian capitals, niche-heads, and other ornaments cut in hard black basalt; and many dwelling-houses, with walls still six feet high. Some of them are thirty feet square, with columns down the centre to support the roof, and walls two feet thick. Here, also, are traces of a large building with remnants of Ionic capitals, and traces of a paved road connecting this place with the caravan road to Damascus. This apparent identification has properly much weight in the case, and is of recent origin. (4.) It would appear, in connection with the feeding of the five thousand, probable, though not certain, that the Saviour went from Capernaum by boat, and was certainly understood by the multitude to have returned to Capernaum,²⁰ and that the multitude, going round on foot,²¹ soon overtook, if not anticipated him.²² This would be much more easily accomplished and readily undertaken from Tell Hum than from Khan Minyeh. (5.) The recent seeming identification of the neighboring fountain at Tabigah, as the fountain of Capernaum. Josephus

¹⁷ Onomasticon, sub verbo, "Est autem nunc desertum in secundo lapide a Kapharnaum." Mr. Grove, in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, erroneously cites it from the commentary on Isa. xx. 1.

¹⁸ Bohn's Early Travels in Palestine, pp. 16, 17.

¹⁹ Recovery of Jerusalem, pp. 270, 271.

²⁰ Compare Mark vi. 32, and John vi. 24.

²¹ Matt. xiv. 13; Mark vi. 33.

²² Mark vi. 33.

describes a fountain called Capharnaome, as (*a*) very copious, (*b*) as watering the plain of Gennesaret, (*c*) as containing the fish *Coracinus* (catfish). Now these circumstances meet only in El Tabigah. According to Captain Wilson, it is (*a*) three times as copious as Mudawarah, and four times as copious as Et Tin; (*b*) it is provided with the means of watering the plain in its ancient reservoir (believed by Sepp to be of Phœnician-Sidonian work), and its aqueduct leading to the south, and finally cut in the rock and carried round the rocky cliff on the northern edge of the plain of Gennesaret. This was first traced by Captain Wilson, but has since been examined by myself and other travellers. Macgregor well remarks of the cut in the basalt rock, "It is plainly to be seen to be a way for water, by its section like an inverted horseshoe." But Et Tin is not only small, but is close to the sea, only about eight feet above its level, and never could have watered the plain; while Mudawarah, though larger than Et Tin, shows no provision of the kind for the conveyance of the water. (*c*) The fish *Coracinus* is found at the outflow of this fountain into the sea. This is a recent discovery. Tristram, having seen the fish at Mudawarah and not at Et Tabigah, regarded this fact as "decisive" against the one and for the other. But Macgregor has destroyed this argument. He first learned from the fishermen, by careful inquiry,²³ that this fish is not confined to Mudawarah, but in summer is also found at Et Tin, and always in the lake; and in the cooler weather only beside the warm springs coming from Tabigah; and he actually saw one of them splashing in the shallow water at the latter place. And he argues, reasonably, that the fish could as well ascend into that fountain as the others. The millers, in fact, assured

²³ Rob Roy on the Jordan, pp. 358-360.

him that fish were found at their mill-dam. This identification of the fountain (accepted by Stanley) is an important additional consideration of recent discovery. (6.) The name Tell Hum has also been cited as a reminiscence of Capharnaome; *tell* ("hill"), it is alleged, often taking the place of *caphar* ("hamlet"), and Hum, according to Delitzsch and others, an abridgment of Nahum; as Nechunsa in Palestine is abridged to Chunsa. Caphar (in Hebrew, or Kefr in Arabic) Hum would be village of Nahum, *Tell* Hum the hill of Hum, or Nahum. Without laying too much stress on this explanation, it is, perhaps, the only plausible attempt to find the old name of Capernaum, and it may take its place in connection with weightier considerations.

The objections to this identification seem to be indecisive. 1. It has been inferred from Josephus's description that the city, Capernaum, must have been contiguous to the plain of Gennesaret. But his statement only affirms that the fountain of Capharnaome *waters* the plain. The fountain Tabigah apparently performed that office. That this fountain should have borne the name of, and been owned and controlled by, the neighboring city, though not close by it, is not improbable. 2. Sepp asserts the counter-claim of Khan Minyeh, from the name Minyeh, which he identifies with the Rabbinic term *minaah*, for a heretic, and endeavors to connect this appellation with Capernaum as a supposed notorious place for Christian heretics. But to say nothing of the impossibility of showing that Capernaum was ever recognized as a special seat of Christian heretics, Delitzsch also mentions that the name itself, Khan Minyeh, does not appear to be known farther back than an Arabic life of Saladin, written in 1189.²⁴ 3. Dr. Robinson cites the testimony

²⁴ Ein Tag in Capernaum, p. 22.

of early travellers to show that Khan Minyeh was from early times recognized as Capernaum. But it is generally conceded, as it must be, that his quotations are not conclusive. The statements that are distinct are not earlier than Hegesippus, of the twelfth century. 4. Mr. Macgregor endeavors to show that in the storm the ship could not well have come twenty-five or thirty furlongs on the way from Butiha to Tell Hum. But he does not fully consider that the wind probably drove it far south of its destination. 5. Macgregor also objects to the want of a good harbor at Tell Hum. But his own explorations disclosed beneath the water "clear indications of a pier," in one place quite near, beginning on shore and extending into the water; and a little farther south "a line of big stones forming a sort of wall twenty feet long and ten feet broad," although he thinks that "in no part about this point is there any proper place for boats." But in any case, harbor or no harbor, here was clearly a place of some importance on the shore, and what was it? The reasons, on the whole, are stronger in evidence that the place was Capernaum, than for any other, and the objections do not seem to invalidate it. We have in favor of it the distance from Chorazin, its vicinity to the Jordan on the north, its proximity to the fountain of Capharnaome, the size of the ruins, and the magnificence of its principal building, a synagogue (in which it has no competitor), and even a reasonable correspondence of the name itself, while in its situation on the shore it corresponds to the narratives that connect it with the Sea of Galilee.

But Captain Wilson's suggestion is a good one, that extensive excavations should be made both at Khan Minyeh and at Tell Hum, and until this is done it is impossible to say which is Capernaum.

From Tell Hum we went a mile and a half to Et Tabigah,

which Robinson, Tristram, and many others, regard as Bethsaida. The name "house of fish," as Macgregor suggests, would be well deserved from the abundance of fish which he saw tumbling in the water there.²⁵ The little bay, half a mile in width, is, as the same writer remarks, admirably suited for boats, provided as it is with a strip of white beach, a sheltering projection of rocks at the south-west, and on the northern side deep water close up to the rocky banks. We landed near where a stream came swiftly pouring into the lake. A few rods back we entered a mill that was grinding vigorously, by means of water running through an aqueduct from the hill-side into the top of the mill. We followed the water up to the hill, some distance from the mill, and found it breaking copiously forth. Captain Wilson describes it as by far the largest spring in Galilee, and more than half the size of the celebrated source of the Jordan at Banias.²⁶ As it bursts from the ground it is received by a strong octagonal reservoir, some twenty feet high, but now rent within two feet of the bottom. On the eastern side the reservoir is partly cut in the rock. The masonry is very ancient, and Dr. Robinson thought the reservoir to be of Roman origin; but Sepp regards it as Phœnician, and mentions its resemblance in shape to that at Palætyre, which I afterward saw.²⁷ We traced for a long distance, on the side of the hill, as it curved south-westerly, the ruins of the cemented aqueduct that once conveyed the waters of this great fountain to the plain of Gennesaret. Afterward, as we went southward, we could also see from the boat the rock-hewn cut, some twenty feet above the lake, which carried the water round the cliff that juts down to the sea north of Khan Minyeh, the same that Wilson and Macgregor have both examined and described.

²⁵ Rob Roy on the Jordan, p. 336.

²⁶ Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 271.

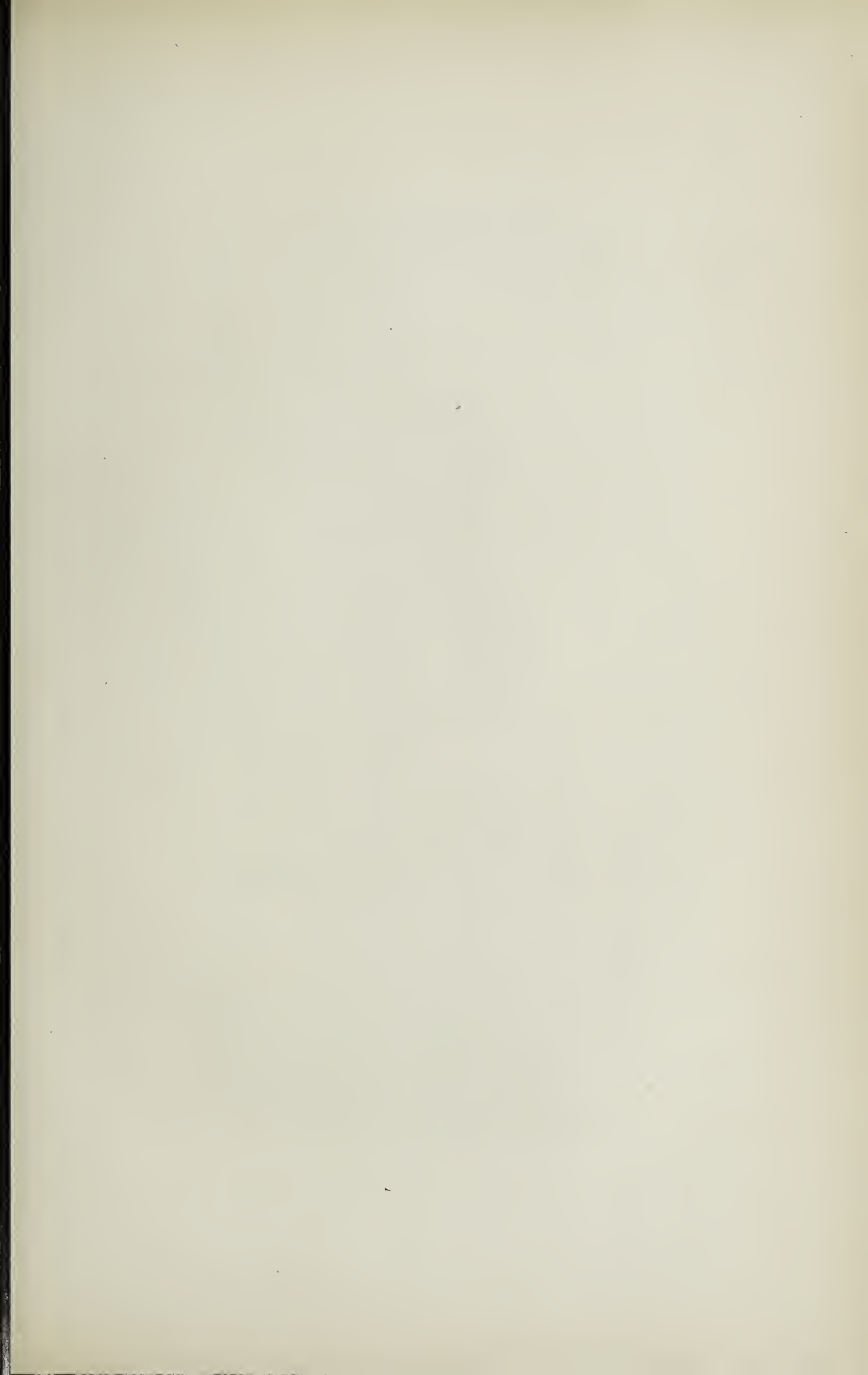
²⁷ Jerusalem, ii. 184.

The latter speaks of "going inside the dry old aqueduct, long used as a riding-path, but now plainly to be seen as a way for water by its section like an inverted horseshoe, the very least convenient form for a road, and the very best for a channel."²⁸ And I could not hesitate to assent to the opinion of the former, that this great spring is without doubt the fountain of Capernaum, mentioned by Josephus as watering the plain of Gennesaret. The suggestion of De Saulcy, Delitzsch, and others is an obvious one, that, though not in Capernaum, nothing is more natural than that the important fountain should have belonged to, and been named from, that important city in the vicinity.

In regard to the aspect and bearings of the evidence here, the sagacious Dr. Robinson seems to have been less sharp-sighted and cautious than usual, perhaps from the influence of a preconceived opinion. His quotations from Jerome, Eusebius, Arculf, and Willibald do not really seem to aid in determining the precise place. At Et Tabigah, although he had come through and recognized the rock-cut channel around the cliff north of Khan Minyeh as unquestionably intended to carry water to the plain of Gennesaret, and had remarked that there were "no waters near which could thus be conveyed except from the fountains of Et Tabigah," and though at the octagonal reservoir of those "immense fountains" he mentions that the head of water was sufficient to carry it to the channel around the point of the north hill into the plain of Gennesaret, and that the reservoir "was obviously built to raise the water to an aqueduct," he adds, that "whether the water was so conveyed there are now no traces from which to form a judgment."²⁹ And yet the aqueduct is traceable for a long distance from the reservoir.

²⁸ Rob Roy on the Jordan, p. 369.

²⁹ Researches, iii. 345-6.





MEJDEL AND PLAIN OF GENNESARET.

south-westward. When he went to Kerazeh, he contented himself with a view of the ruins a quarter of a mile away, there being "no path" to them; and he pronounces them "too trivial to have even belonged to a plain of any importance." And yet they are more extensive now than any others in the region, and include the remains of a synagogue.³⁰

After a lunch near the old fountain of Capharnaome, our next landing-place was about a mile and a half south, beyond the cliff that shuts sharply down upon the lake near the fountain that takes its name, Ain et Tin, from the large fig-tree close by. Some sixty rods north of it, at the foot of a hill, lies the mound Khan, called Khan Minyeh, and about the same distance west or south-west of it a series of mounds, old ruins, covering a moderate space of ground, with traces of a thick wall around them. Here Robinson, Sepp, and others would find Capernaum. The fertile plain of Gennesaret, so enthusiastically described by Josephus as "the ambition of nature," stretched away three miles southward along the lake. The fountain lies very low, and near the level of the lake. Captain Wilson conjectured, from the old water-marks, that the lake occasionally rises into it. This we found to be the fact. The water of the lake had spread over beyond its ordinary line, and the whole area around the fountain was a sheet of water. We landed upon the coast-line of rocks, but the region beyond was so completely a marsh and pool that it was impracticable to approach the fountain, or, without a long detour, the Khan or the ruins. It was evident at a glance that this fountain could never have watered the plain of Gennesaret. The papyrus which grows here was not now accessible.

³⁰ Researches, iii. 347.

In sailing homeward—for the wind was favorable—we passed the small shabby hamlet of Mejdel, famous as Magdala, but only for having been the home of Mary Magda-



MAP OF SEA OF GALILEE.

lene. As we were to pass through it next day, we did not land. We returned in good season to Tiberias, after a delightful excursion, marred only by the loss of the good

alpenstock which had accompanied me to the top of Vesuvius, Serbal, and Sinai, up the Nile and across the desert, now consigned accidentally to the waters of Gennesaret, and disappearing amidst the waves before the Arabs could be made to put about their clumsy boat.

After landing at Tiberias, a place which there is no evidence that the Saviour ever visited, I closed the day by a walk a mile or more southward, passing over the site of the *ancient* Tiberias. Here, fallen pillars lying in the grass, and ruins of massive walls, suggest the sumptuous buildings, and wealth, and luxury, and revelry, that passed away ages ago. Straggling columns stand in dismal solitude in or near the water's edge, and in some places fallen pillars can be seen several feet below the surface. Back of the narrow strip of land along the shore the cliffs rose abruptly, showing the openings of caves here and there. The hot springs, with which my walk terminated, are not alluded to in the Scriptures, the town itself having sprung up only in the time of the infamous emperor for whom it was named by Herod Antipas. They are, however, repeatedly mentioned by Josephus. Some seven different springs, salt, bitter, and sulphurous, come gurgling out of the declivity, and two of them are conducted into bath-houses. I entered one of the baths, and found the water so hot (136°) that it took many minutes of gradual experiment to prepare for a full immersion, and then the sensation was that of parboiling.

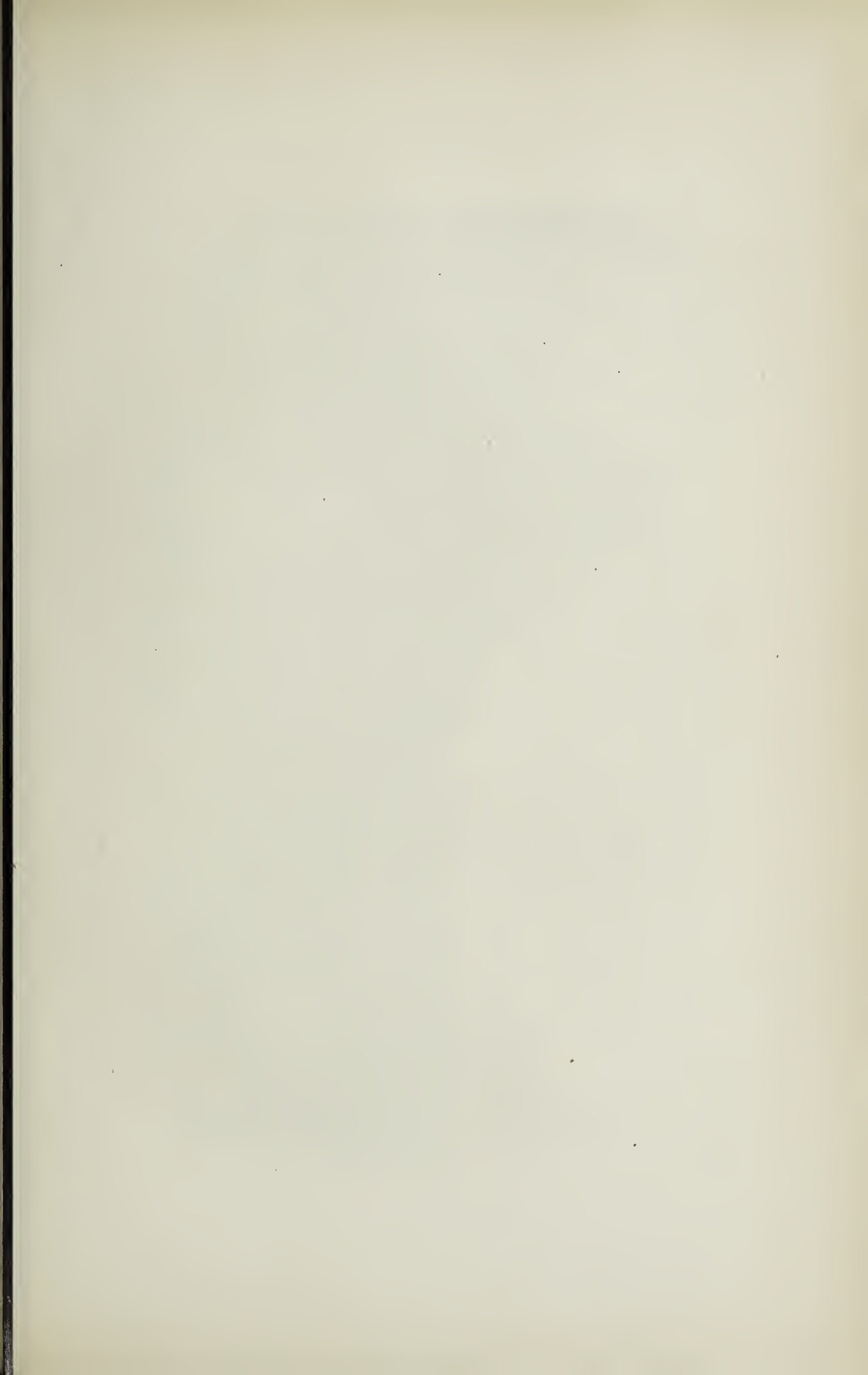
That night the full moon rose soft and clear over the country of the Gadarenes, and as its silver light streamed down upon the water, the perfect stillness that reigned around left the heart at liberty to people the lake and its shores, no longer with the Turk, the Arab, and the down-trodden Jew, but with the sacred forms of old.

CHAPTER XXVI.

FROM GENNESARET TO THE COASTS OF TYRE AND SIDON.

NEXT morning (April 1st) our journey led us northward about three miles along the shore of the lake. At the southern extremity of the plain of Gennesaret we passed through the small hamlet of Mejdel. Rank grass and weeds and a few patches of grain here represent the luxuriant growth of ancient times, and a score of poor hovels its once abundant population. As we rode by, we were lustily assailed with the cry of "backsheesh" from a company of urchins in the scantiest apparel, some of them quite too young to speak their favorite word distinctly. Here we turned at right angles to the left up Wady Hamam. We may not have been on the same track, but we were on the same journey which the Saviour once took when he went from "the land of Gennesaret," and "departed unto the coasts of Tyre and Sidon."¹ We followed a little stream up the deep chasm, and in about twenty minutes we reached a place where, for some distance, the cliffs rose on both sides almost perpendicularly to the height of 600 feet, according to Murray, or 1200 according to Captain Wilson. On the southern side, above the precipice, and of course wholly out of sight from us, lay the ruins of Irbid, or Arbela, and in full sight, half-way up the cliff, the celebrated robbers' caverns of the times of Herod the Great. High up in the face of the cliff we

¹ Matt. xiv. 34; xv. 21.





WADY HAMAM.

could see the openings of the caves, connected by horizontal rock-hewn galleries, with walls in front, and rising above each other in tiers. It was the scene of that extraordinary and sanguinary conflict in mid-air, when Herod's soldiers, foiled in all other attempts upon this inaccessible stronghold, were swung down from above to the mouths of the dens in chests, and destroyed the occupants with the sword and with fire. Here was enacted that characteristically tragic scene in which the old bandit, rather than surrender upon the offered mercy, stood at the cave's mouth, and as his seven sons and his wife successively came forth, slew them one by one, threw their bodies down, and hurled himself after them. The valley became hot as the sun rose upon us. I soon came to an object for which I had been looking for some time. It was a fig-tree in a warm, sheltered nook, which was in advance of the season. It was covered with figs, some of them pretty well grown, while the leaves had barely begun to show themselves. I broke off and brought home one twig, with seven growing figs upon it, and only three little leaves, which were just started at the end of the branch. Other trees were further advanced, and showed more leaves. It illustrated that passage (Mark xi. 13) where the Saviour saw a fig-tree full of leaves when it was not the season for figs, and drew nigh "if haply he might find fruit thereon." The abundant show of leaves justified the expectation of fruit on that tree in the sheltered nook, although the time for figs elsewhere had not come.

We emerged from Wady Hamam, and passed through Hattin, a dirty village on a most sunny, fertile soil. Here, in a broken-down house, I had an opportunity to see the construction of a Syrian roof—with timbers, cross-pieces, bellan (thorn-bush), and, on top of all, earth or clay—one easily broken up.

Thence we came along by the plain of Buttauf, now a lake. Our road properly lay across it, but we were obliged to go round on the edge of the hills. Mr. Thomson records a ride across it once, when half under water, as the most nervous ride he ever took.² After inquiring in vain for Khurbet Cana, Robinson's Cana el Jelil (or Cana of Galilee), and at last falling back on the map for our guide, we finally reached the place, a deserted village on the southern side of a hill, comprising some twenty stone houses, not laid with mortar, all fallen in. Not a living being was to be seen. We had inquired all along and around in vain for the name Cana el Jelil, and were positively assured by the Arabs of the region, over and over, that they knew it by no such name, but only as Khurbet Cana, *i. e.*, the "ruins" of Cana. In this respect our experience was much the same as that of Dr. Thomson, who on one excursion amused himself the whole morning with inquiring for the name Cana el Jelil, but found no one who professed to be acquainted with it, except one man, and he apparently gave him an affirmative answer merely as an accommodation.³

Notwithstanding the able argument of Dr. Robinson, and the confident assertion of Sepp, that this, and not Kefr Kenna, is the place of the wedding, there are certainly some difficulties not yet removed to the satisfaction of all scholars. One is this prevailing ignorance in the region of any such name as Cana el Jelil. Another is the lack of any clear identification of this locality till the time of the Crusades. In truth, Dr. Sepp admits that Jerome appears to have accepted Kefr Kenna on account of its proximity to Nazareth.⁴ Again, Willibald, in the year 728, found at Cana a great church.⁵ But no vestige of a church or any

² The Land and the Book, ii. p. 122.

³ Ibid. ii. 121.

⁴ Jerusalem, ii. 104.

⁵ Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's edition, p. 16.

other considerable building can be found at Khurbet Cana, nor, so far as I am aware, any trace of early antiquity. For Kefr Kenna can be alleged, apparently, the remark of Jerome, its vicinity to Nazareth, then the home of the Saviour, and the old olive-trees, and especially the ancient sarcophagus, carrying us back unquestionably to early times. Dr. Thomson and Professor Hackett leave the question in doubt. Mr. Dixon vigorously defends the claims of Kefr Kenna. An hour from Khurbet Cana brought us to Kefr Menda for the night. Our tents and baggage, which had not yet overtaken us since before our arrival at Jenin, and which had not followed us to the Sea of Galilee, had been ordered to meet us here. Before our arrival at Kefr Menda, as we skirted the hills on the northern edge of a plain, we could see our baggage-mules, on the south-eastern side of the same plain, struggling in the mud, and turning back to take a different path. They were then not more than three miles from Kefr Menda. We arrived before them, and had no resort but to go to the public-house of the place. It consisted of one large room, with a small fire in the centre, a very small hole above for the smoke, which refused to pass through it, and two very small holes in the sides for windows. Its whole furniture consisted of two strips of matting along the floor on one side. The natives, who were smoking on our arrival, civilly gave way for us. Here we sat, tired, hungry, and expectant, for three hours, till nine o'clock, sustained, each of us, by a tiny cup of Arab coffee. At length, wearied out, we lay down, with our mackintoshes and shawls for pillows, and our tent-rugs, which were with us, for mattresses. Tired as I was, I was conscious of being excessively uncomfortable, and of rolling from side to side perhaps twenty times in the night. In the morning I learned the reason. My wrists, and neck, and ankles were absolutely

red with the ravages of those Oriental companions of the traveller, which, having spared us hitherto, even in Tiberias, had determined to give us one thorough experience of Eastern life before we finally left their native land.

But the thing that waked us at five o'clock in the morning was the welcome sound of our Arabs. They had taken eleven hours to travel through or round the three miles' distance from Kefr Menda. The dragoman declared that they had tried seven different paths across the plain, and then gone round by the hills; that the mules had fallen a thousand times, and that they had been travelling all night. We might have made large allowances for orientalisms, and supposed that they had been comfortably quartered somewhere, but for the fact that we had seen them changing their route, and for the worn-out aspect of men and animals, as well as the circumstance that all our valises had been in the mud and water, to the very serious damage of their contents and the fatal disfigurement of their exteriors. A good breakfast soon made all things look cheerful, and at eight o'clock (April 2d) we were once more on our way.

There is nothing of special interest from Kefr Menda to Acre. I had noticed in general the greater abundance of trees in Northern than in Southern Palestine, and the predominance of fertile plains. To-day we crossed the great plain of Acre, a very garden in fertility. On the farther side, just before entering the city, I saw a flock of sheep following the shepherd as he moved along in front, occasionally uttering a vocal call or sometimes a whistle. One steady animal followed like a dog, close at his heels. A few others came stringing along in single file, and then the whole flock followed in their train.

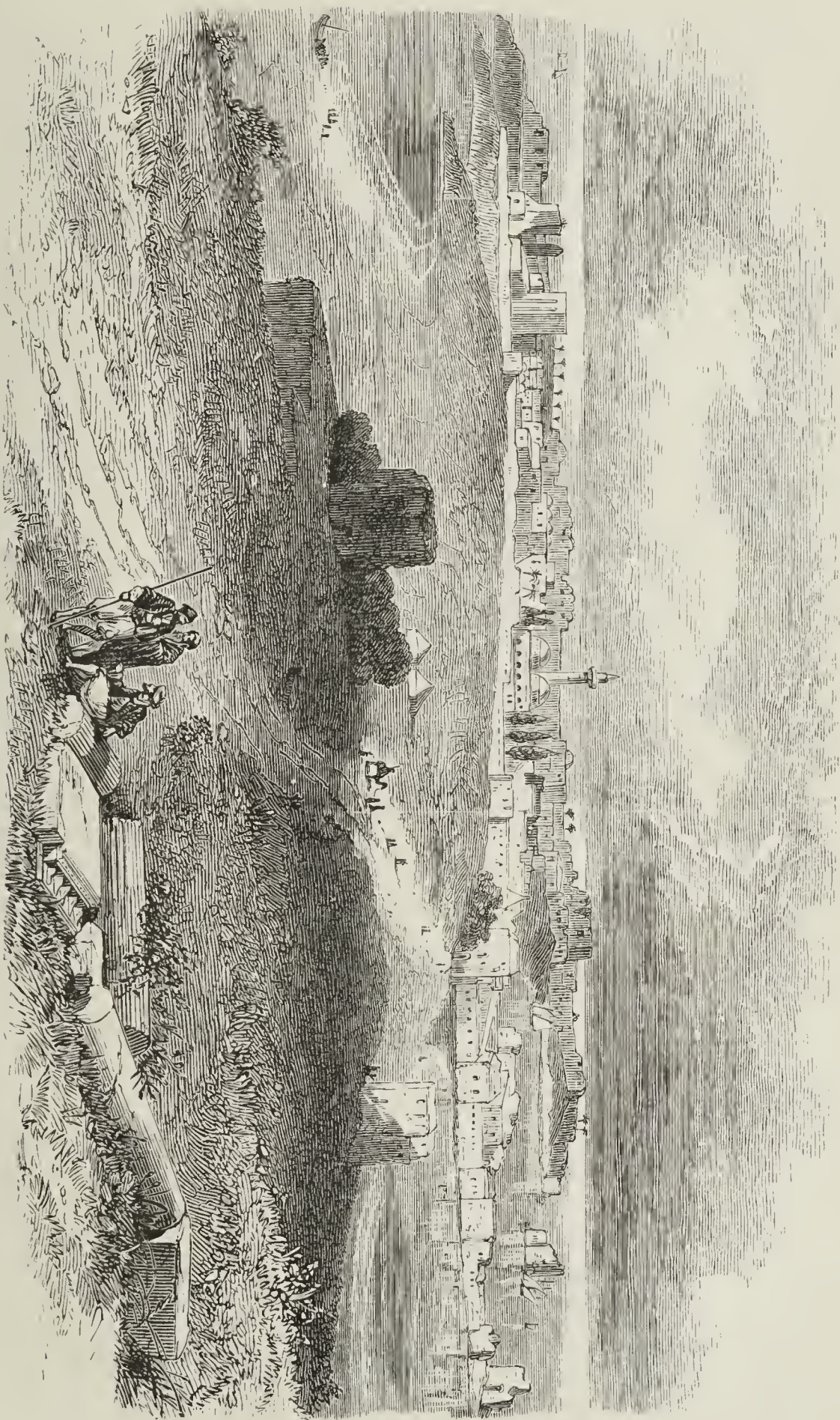
We entered and rode through the city of Akka, or Acre, once famous as the great harbor of the Crusaders, and in

modern times for Napoleon's siege. We visited the few relics that have come down from crusading times, and then rode on. Our jaded animals, as we rode through the more public portion of the city, made a sorry figure beside some splendid horses of the military that we encountered on our way, and we had human sensibilities enough, even after our adventures of the previous night, to be willing to encamp two miles north of the city.

The next morning (April 3d) our route carried us along, for the most part, by the sea—a very delightful ride. The rocky coast, on which the waves incessantly broke, was the first familiar-looking object I had seen for months, and carried with it a reminder of New England. This coast might have passed for some portions of the shore of Maine. A part of the way was along one of those ancient roads built by the Romans, not very smooth after more than a thousand years of neglect. Two hours from our camp we climbed “the Syrian ladder,” a winding track over a high rocky promontory, and were out of Palestine proper and in the region of Phœnicia. An hour before we reached it we passed the little village Ez Zib, the ancient Achzib, which Asher should have owned, but never conquered. Still we were not absolutely beyond the Saviour's journeying; for on one occasion, as if to inaugurate the missionary work in person, he came into the region of “Tyre and Sidon.”⁶ It was somewhere in this region that he encountered that remarkable exhibition of faith in the woman who was a Canaanite by descent, a Syrophenician by residence, and a Greek by training. And this was the track by which he naturally would have come. Then we passed some ruins with melancholy-looking columns, where not even a wild animal was to

⁶ Matt. xv. 21–28.

be seen, and came to a round Roman fortress and a great fountain near it, once called Alexandroschene (Alexander's tent), now corrupted into Iskanderiyeh. We were on the track of the Macedonian. We climbed the "White Cap," a lofty limestone cliff thrust boldly into the sea. A narrow road wound its way up on the edge of the solid rock, where at times one could look over into the sea, foaming two or three hundred feet directly beneath. At the summit was a Roman fort, to remind us again of the strong hand that once stretched over the nations and seized every stronghold. About an hour thence were some remarkably copious fountains, gushing up and filling four reservoirs. They mark the site of old Tyre, and are about three miles south of the present town. One of the reservoirs is built excessively thick—eight feet at the top—in an octagonal shape, sixty-six feet in diameter and twenty-five feet high. It slopes outward like the side of a hill, and the masonry is crusted thick with limestone. The octagonal shape reminds one instantly of the reservoir at Et Tabigah. The Romans put their handiwork here also, in the shape of an aqueduct supported by arches, and traceable still for two miles to the north. Thence we rode along the beach till we struck the causeway built by Alexander, and since filled in with sand, that connected the main-land with the former island on which commercial Tyre, "the mistress of the seas," was built. It had been originally a rocky island, half a mile from the coast, with a wall running all round at the water's edge, until the genius of the great conqueror joined it to the main-land, to capture the city. The connection has never been obliterated, but widened by accumulated sand. As we turned west along the southern edge of this causeway, we saw prostrate columns on the sand, and, farther along, mediæval walls, and red and gray granite columns, lying beneath.



TYRE, FROM THE EAST.

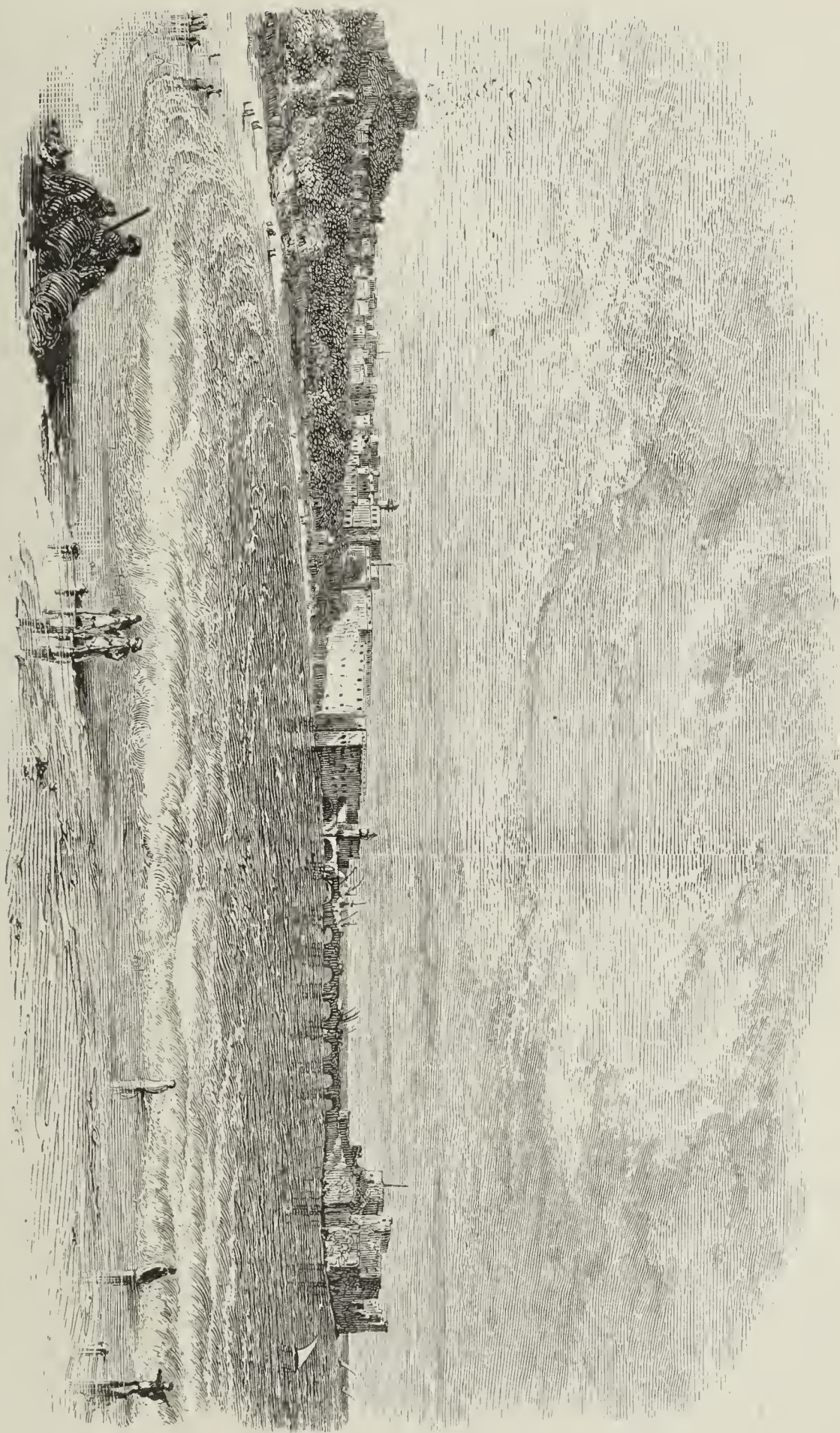
Farther on, we rode over an unoccupied space, and saw on the right the ruined foundations of houses that had been dug over for stones. We pushed on to the extreme western coast of the peninsula, wholly beyond its present houses, and pitched our camp within six rods of the waters of the ocean. I walked along the water's edge, and for some considerable distance could trace the old sea-wall, worn down to within six inches of the native rock, but showing cement and stones firmly bound together. Off the north-western point of the island I counted about sixty columns, or parts of columns, lying on the rocks, and at low tide nearly out of water. In the harbor, on the north side, I counted eighteen fishing-boats; and on the rocks, nearly opposite the prostrate columns, the fishermen had "spread their nets," according to the ancient prophecy. At evening-prayers we read the twenty-sixth chapter of Ezekiel, with a vivid sense of its prophetic grandeur and terrible meaning. Late in the evening I wandered forth to look upon the ruins of this mistress of the seas by the light of the bright, clear moon, and as I lay down to sleep, the loud roaring of the waves breaking on the desolate coast seemed like the solemn and eternal echo of the ancient prophecy of God.

In the morning (April 4th), as we came out of the one gate of modern Tyre, we rode over two granite columns lying embedded in the ground across the opening. Just outside stood a large and massive sarcophagus, now broken in two, sculptured on both sides, and showing a ram's-head carved on each corner of one end.

A little farther along we met seven women coming in, each with a load of long, small firewood on her head. It was a good illustration of the functions of women, as we had seen them throughout much of this region. While donkeys are the baggage-wagons, women are the hand-carts.

On our way to Sidon we repeatedly encountered unknown ruins. In one place were the columns and hewn stones of quite a large town, and we dug up little stones from patches of mosaic directly in our path. Occasionally we found ourselves on the Roman road. About ten miles before reaching Sidon, we passed a little village called Surafend, situated at the right, on a sidehill sloping east. The name represents the Sarepta of Elijah the prophet, although the ruins of the ancient village itself, abandoned in the Middle Ages for a safer site upon the hills, lay down upon the coast at our left. We lunched at a fountain, where, for the first time, I saw tamarisk-trees two feet in diameter. At very many points along the way we saw signs of former occupancy, where not an inhabitant is now to be seen. Occasionally, and especially as we approached Sidon, there were stones that showed the mark of the chisel, built into the walls by the way-side. It was a strange comment upon the ancient glory and the modern desolation.

We now drew near the "Great Zidon," whither Joshua "chased" the scattered fragments of the confederated armies of the North, after his crowning and overwhelming victory "at the waters of Merom." As we approached the gate we saw a rider coming out to meet us. He proved to be Rev. Mr. Pond, the missionary, hastening to give us a welcome. While the tents were pitching we went to his house, and found there two lady friends, now members of his family, whose acquaintance we had formed in Rome, and whose society we had enjoyed across the Mediterranean, in the stormy passage from Brindisi to Alexandria. They who have been a year from their own homes, and for many long weeks in the hands of Syrians and Arabs, can appreciate the pleasure of such an encounter and such a welcome. After dinner in our tents we were invited to the house of



SIDON.

Rev. Mr. Eddy, another laborious and faithful missionary, now of the Presbyterian Board. In these delightful circles we could see the power of the cultivated Christian home as itself a great Christianizing influence in these degraded regions.

Sunday morning we attended the Arabic service of the Mission Church. Some two hundred persons were present. The service was followed by the communion, at which one middle-aged man joined the church. This, again, was a strange and novel experience—to sit down as fellow-citizens of the Kingdom with a company of those with whom we had no means of manifesting a common sympathy, except as we partook together of that sacred ordinance, our glorious and unmistakable bond of union. The afternoon was partly spent in delightful intercourse with these two families, and the evening at Mr. Pond's, in a prayer-meeting long to be remembered.

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMING OUT OF ANTIQUITY AND THE EAST.

It was a natural and fitting egress from the oriental and antiquarian scenes of the last few months that we should pass through the homes of those devoted men who are carrying back to the East the Light that came thence to the West. We esteemed it a felicitous rounding off of our journey that the remainder of our way, till we sailed from the Golden Horn, was a constant contact with our American missionaries. It began at "Great Zidon," and ended in Constantinople. In those clear-headed, faithful, practical men, and those noble and accomplished women, we felt that our country was represented at its very best, and that if there were more delightful homes or more hospitable hearts in the mother-land, we had failed to find them. It was with a feeling almost of sadness that we turned away from our new-found friends in Sidon, even though our faces were set toward the place where fresh letters from home and the home-bound steamer were in waiting.

A long day's ride, without special interest, brought us to Beyroot. The most striking event was when the mountains of Lebanon loomed up, white with the deepest snow of many years. We dismounted at the hotel in Beyroot, willing to bid good-bye to the horses and camels that had been for sixty days our sole and safe conveyance—bearing myself, however, a slight tinge of sciatica, to remind me of the heavy rains and wet saddles of Palestine. I found that the way

to Damascus, which had been blocked up four weeks by the deep snow, was not yet fairly open; and having the alternative of a departure that night or a fortnight's delay, three of us decided upon the former. The same night a large company of tourists left on the Austrian Lloyd, many of whom had had a hard and sorry time in their travels, and some of whom had been almost entirely frustrated of their intended journeys. We encountered others next day on the French steamer, and we found that while such tourist companies, under contract with some western firm and by fixed programme, might work well when all the elements also worked well, they were, under other circumstances, to the last degree unsatisfactory and annoying. Disappointments, complaints, and sometimes almost feuds, were the consequences. One seldom hears bitterer things from well-bred men and women than in some of these fresh reminiscences. Several of our passengers had, as I found, no pleasant recollections of their trip in Palestine. It had consisted of the ride from Jaffa to Jerusalem, thence a few hours' ride to Ramleh in the rain, followed by an abrupt retreat to Jerusalem and Jaffa again, and a passage thence by steamer to Beyroot. So much for seeing Palestine. They were all English, belonging to a company of tourists, and their comments on the company and the management were not altogether gentle and mild.

The shortness of our stay made it busy work at Beyroot. But we had time for a pleasant exploration of the Bible-house, complete in all the apparatus of type-founding, stereotyping, binding, and printing, with the choice modern type devised by Dr. Eli Smith, that pleases the fastidious Oriental eye, and furnishes a religious, and to some degree educational, literature for the immense Arab-speaking portions of the human race. We visited, also, the Female Seminary of

the American Mission, which was just commencing its annual examinations. We heard only the primary department. Except the countenances of the pupils and the foreign language, there was little to remind us—in manners, deportment, or seeming intelligence—that we were not at home. And to our eyes one of the most striking sights in the examination was a native teacher, who took part. We could not but think of the forbidding objects, having the name of women, that we had encountered for so long a time, bearing burdens and performing menial offices, dirty and dull of aspect, sometimes covering the face and heedless of other exposures. And now what a contrast in this brunette maiden—neat, tasteful, and attractive in appearance, lady-like in deportment, bright of countenance, and apparently in every respect the peer and the sister of her fairer companions from the West! And we deeply felt what and who have made this transformation, or rather transfiguration, of the sex. Here we met Dr. Thomson, of the “Land and the Book,” and Mr. Dennis, of the Syrian College—an institution which, to our great regret, we could not visit.

We were invited to lunch with Dr. Jessup, who has made, and is making, his mark in Syria. Here, besides his own pleasant family, we met Mr. and Mrs. Hardin, missionaries from Tripoli. Among other articles of food, Mr. Jessup kindly produced, for my gratification, some *dibs*—boiled grape-juice, thicker than molasses, about like honey; not used as a drink, but eaten like jelly.

During the day our dragoman, Joseph Tannus, with his confidential servant Ibrahim, and his solemn cook, to whom we were indebted for so many cheerful repasts, called to pay their respects and to receive their recommendations and their backsheesh, both of which were duly granted them—to the two last-mentioned persons without hesitation or qualifi-



BEYROOT.

cation, and to the first with some slight reserve. With Oriental politeness they presented themselves that evening at nine o'clock, to see us off for the French steamer *Eridan*. One of our company through the desert remained behind. Mr. Hardin, the missionary, was our companion, returning to his field of labor at Tripoli. We reached that place early in the morning, and Mr. Hardin took us on shore with him. We breakfasted with Mrs. Jessup, of this missionary field, visited Mr. Hardin's house, and then rode with him up to "the Castle," an old fortress of the Crusaders' time. We dined with Dr. Danforth, another of the missionaries, and toward evening returned to the steamer, after a day of delight in these refined and cordial Christian homes.

Back of Tripoli rises Mount Lebanon, ten thousand feet in height, now covered deep with snow. We could see the depression in the mountain where the famous cedars were—now wholly inaccessible. The boat put off at night; and next morning, at Latakia, we parted company with another of our companions through the desert. From Latakia to Alexandretta the mountains shut down close to the sea, and their tops were covered with snow. The next morning found us at Mersin, the port of Tarsus, which city lay four hours' ride inland. It was easy to see where the road climbed up the mountain-side toward the birthplace of the great apostle, and metropolis of Cilicia. But as there is almost no remnant of the ancient town except the vestiges of a theatre, and as eight hours on horseback was a long ride for one who still felt the effects of the exposures in Palestine, I did not incline to take the journey.

On leaving Mersin we sailed near enough to the ruins of Pompeiopolis to see some forty Corinthian columns standing at intervals along the shore. They were tokens of a time, probably, when Cleopatra sailed by, as she turned up the

now obstructed channel of the Cydnus in her gorgeous galley, to the sound of flutes, pipes, and harps, to meet and conquer Antony in Tarsus.

The island of Rhodes, where we next put in, recalled some of the earliest and finest specimens of Grecian sculpture, and the time when, as Pliny says, there were three thousand statues there; but there is now little to remind one of the ancient glory, unless it be here and there some fragments of columns. The marks of crusading times were distinct and abundant. One long, ascending street showed on the carved fronts of the ancient dwellings various coats of arms; and we passed the somewhat dismantled dwelling of the Grand Master. At the top of this long street were a few scattered fragments of the once fine Church of St. John, and close by it the great cavity of the magazine that took fire and blew it to atoms.

Close by the harbor is a fine gate, with a round tower on each side, and some twenty rods east of it is a double projection in the wall, comprising a space of perhaps thirty feet, where, it is alleged, stood the Colossus of Rhodes. It is quite near the water of the present harbor, and the statement is that the old harbor lay inside, being now occupied by the town itself.¹ The island and the village looked neat and attractive as we sailed away. We passed among the rocky islands of the Archipelago, and toward dark we saw to the south-west, in the distance, the "Isle of Patmos;" and we were not far from Samos when I left the deck. The various islands, as we sailed along, showed, at least so far as we could see, few inhabitants and scanty cultivation.

Early in the morning we were in Smyrna. The city presented a fine panorama, as seen from the steamer. In an

¹ Mr. Newton (*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, i. 177) thinks, however, that the Colossus stood on the end of the ancient mole.

hour or two we were ashore, and climbed the high hill, or acropolis, from which we could see the whole city, with its two hundred thousand inhabitants—this “Pearl of the Orient”—lying beautifully set on the edge of the bay below. The hill is covered with the ruined walls of a fortification, some portions of which are claimed to be as old as Lysander, and some older yet, belonging to the Cyclopean times. It was to me a more interesting thought that I was looking down upon the home of Polycarp and of John the apostle; and, indeed, the place where I stood was quite near the traditional and not improbable place of Polycarp’s martyrdom. Over back of this hill, at some little distance, is pointed out, without probability, the site of one of the “Seven Churches.”

We came down and walked around the city. The bazaar had a look half oriental and half occidental. We met many European faces about the city, and here and there heard the sound of a piano. It seemed good to hear once more the whistle of a locomotive. There were also some of the most magnificent specimens of camels that we had seen anywhere upon our travels—large, stately, and powerful.

The next day, in company with a large party of the steamer’s passengers, we took the railway to Ephesus, some forty-five miles to the south-east. A special train carried us over the distance in an hour and three-quarters. It seemed strange indeed to be travelling by steam between the sites of two of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse. But so it was. Our track lay down a level region, enclosed by, and winding among, goodly chains of hills. Before arriving at the station we could see the high piers of a ruined aqueduct, built of large white marble blocks from some older building—Mr. Wood says, the Temple of Diana. The station Ayasuluk was a mile or more from the chief ruins of the great

and splendid capital city of Western Asia. Not far from the station were ruined mosques, on the minarets of which some grave old storks had built their stick nests, almost as large as a Hottentot kraal. Passing these, we soon came to the remains of a public road or street, once adorned with columns, and extending a mile or more to the Magnesian Gate of the city. Much of the road is now buried several feet deep, but recent excavations at intervals disclose its direction and connections. Along the way were many tombs with marble sarcophagi, on one of which I observed a Greek inscription. The remains of the tomb of Androclus are to be seen, supposed by Mr. Wood to date back one thousand years before Christ. This, though it might be young for Egypt, is old for a Grecian city.

The street led to the opening between Mount Prion and Mount Coressus, on the latter of which eminences the city was chiefly built, and here were the noble ruins of the Magnesian Gate. From this point onward, as the way curved steadily to the right around Coressus, the excavations revealed a continuous mass of fallen and broken marble columns. They belonged to a colonnade which ran almost entirely around the mountain, from gate to gate of the city. On the right we passed the large and solid remains of what is called the gymnasium. Soon, on the left, appears a circular building, partly disinterred. Next, on the right, was the Odeum, with columns of Egyptian syenite, and the seats and stairs (quite entire) all of white marble. Various other ruined buildings are to be seen here. Then, as the valley opens out from between the hills into a broad level, abundant fragments of columns lay in every direction, and in one place a white marble basin, as of a fountain, twelve feet in diameter. Next we pass the front of the great theatre, still traceable in its whole plan, and capable of containing

twenty-four thousand persons¹—the very place, no doubt, into which the Ephesians rushed and shouted, “Great is Diana of the Ephesians,”² for “the space of two hours.” It was the most capacious audience-room ever built by the Greeks. Its form is distinct, and a cutting that has been made shows the steps and the seats. Beyond this come the solid remains of the great Stadium, and at various points are to be seen the massive walls which enclosed the city. These ruins are remarkable, both for their great extent and magnificence, and for the fact that no other city has been built over them. At length our way, which had been a circle of four or five miles, brought us back to a place near the point of departure, not very far from Ayasaluk;³ and here, within a few years, have been found the remains of the great Temple of Diana. In the midst of the barley-fields, a happy conjecture or calculation led Mr. Wood, in 1869 and 1870, to commence excavations; and here, at a depth of from fourteen to twenty-one feet below the surface, we saw sections of fluted columns of the finest white marble, nearly seven feet in diameter, and other remains of a great and costly building. Some of the capitals and drums of these columns, elaborately carved with human figures and other ornamentation, which were taken from this spot, I had seen in the British Museum. Other stones from it were built into the piers of the aqueduct near by, indicating clearly what had been the fate of the rest of the building. It is now conceded that here was one of the “seven wonders of the world.” I left Ephesus with the thought what a rich harvest may be awaiting the antiquarian explorer. And though

¹ Lewin, in his *Life of Paul*, gives the number at fifty thousand; but the twenty-four thousand of Mr. J. T. Wood is more trustworthy.

² Acts xix. 29–34.

³ Corrupted, as some say, from “*ἅγιος θεολόγος* (holy divine).”

the interest itself is far less than attaches to Jerusalem or Rome, the facilities are vastly greater, inasmuch as the relics of the past are not buried deep beneath other structures, filled with living occupants, nor hedged around with superstitious reverence.

Heavy storms on the Mediterranean detained our connecting steamer three days behind her time, and kept us waiting at Smyrna in constant expectation. Then we ploughed through the Archipelago under a pleasant sunshine, over a smooth sea, and among a multitude of islands which seemed almost equally rocky and hilly, and showed here and there a small village near the water.

On the 20th of April we were sailing into the magnificent harbor of the great city that connects ancient and modern times, that brings together Asia and Europe, the East and the West, the Crescent and the Cross. The panorama of Constantinople, as seen from the water, is superb, rising gradually enough up the surrounding hills to display all of its beauty and none of its meanness. Quickly carried through the annoyance of the Custom-house by the aid of a little "backsheesh," given for attempting to collect on articles not dutiable, we were soon established at the Hôtel Luxemburg, in Pera, the European quarter. We hastened at once for our letters to the Bible-house in Stamboul. It is a neat and well-constructed stone building, which has already served as an object-lesson in architecture, and looks as if the Word of God had planted a firm foot in Turkey. The story of all the delays and struggles for its site, erection, and work, which I heard on the spot, would answer for an appendix to the Arabian Nights. We found ourselves at once among friends and at home, and entered on nearly a week of incessant sight-seeing and social and Christian enjoyment. We had come through the delightful Christian



CONSTANTINOPLE.

homes of Cairo, Asyoot, Nazareth, Sidon, Beyroot, and Tripoli ; but this was like bringing them all together. We soon learned that we were not to be permitted to spend any more time at our hotel, and that before our departure there were not nights enough for us to accept the gentle compulsions of those brethren into their family circles.

The first day brought us into the noon prayer-meeting which has long been regularly maintained at the Bible-house. Here were six Americans connected in some mode with the missionary work, and one native pastor. One of these brethren, who had just returned from visiting the churches, was disturbed at finding some just such intractable characters as are found in the home churches. Another lamented the slowness of the work. And yet some of those present had already seen seventy-five churches, with more than a hundred native preachers, and all the appliances of Christian work—presses, schools, a college, and theological schools—spring up in Turkey. We were able to refresh them with the outside view of their great enterprise.

After the meeting we looked over the building, which contained great piles of Bibles in different tongues, some forty thousand copies, I think ; a magazine of Christian literature so formidable that the sluggish Turk, three months before, roused himself in vain to forbid further sales. And when the official was courteously shown around the building, he “did not think there were so many books in the world.” Here, too, were issuing the several papers and magazines that are working like leaven in the empire already, three of which, in as many languages, are edited by Mr. Greene.

Next morning Dr. Isaac Bliss accompanied us to the old seraglio, on an eminence near the entrance of the Golden Horn. It was formerly the chief palace of the Sultans ; but it has been the scene of so much slaughter that Abdul Aziz,

it is thought, had a horror of the place, and had abandoned it, though the finest site, for various other palaces. Here we stood under the "Sublime Porte," a grand gate which gives name to the government. It was a wide, deep porch, opening on the inner court of the old palace, and decorated with gilding and ornamental work. This was the place where the Sultan used to issue the orders that made Europe tremble. We entered one of the kiosks, or summer resting-places of the Sultan on his pleasure excursions. It was richly and tastefully fitted up. Close by was the treasury, with a blaze of gold and diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and the like, belonging to the old "kings barbaric," such as I never saw, except in the Green Vault at Dresden; robes covered with square yards of pearls intermingled with other precious stones; scores of pistols, cimeters, and daggers, their handles glittering with diamonds; head-ornaments tipped with bird-of-paradise feathers, and lustrous with rows of great diamonds as large as the finger's end; all sorts of ornaments conceivable and inconceivable, implements, caskets, small articles of furniture, so thickly covered with costly stones that you could hardly tell that there was gold beneath; and a throne which a dragoman present affirmed to be worth a million pounds.

Of course we visited the Mosque of St. Sophia, Justinian's Church, famous for its noble dome and its jasper pillars from Ephesus. In the apse overhead can still be traced the outline figure (probably of the Saviour) with outstretched arms, not quite obliterated by the Moslems. After visiting also the Mosque Ahmediah, distinguished for six minarets without and four enormous pillars within, and for the Sultan's preference as his place of prayer; the equally large and more tasteful mosque, Suleimanieh; the Hippodrome, showing an Egyptian obelisk, and a twisted column claimed

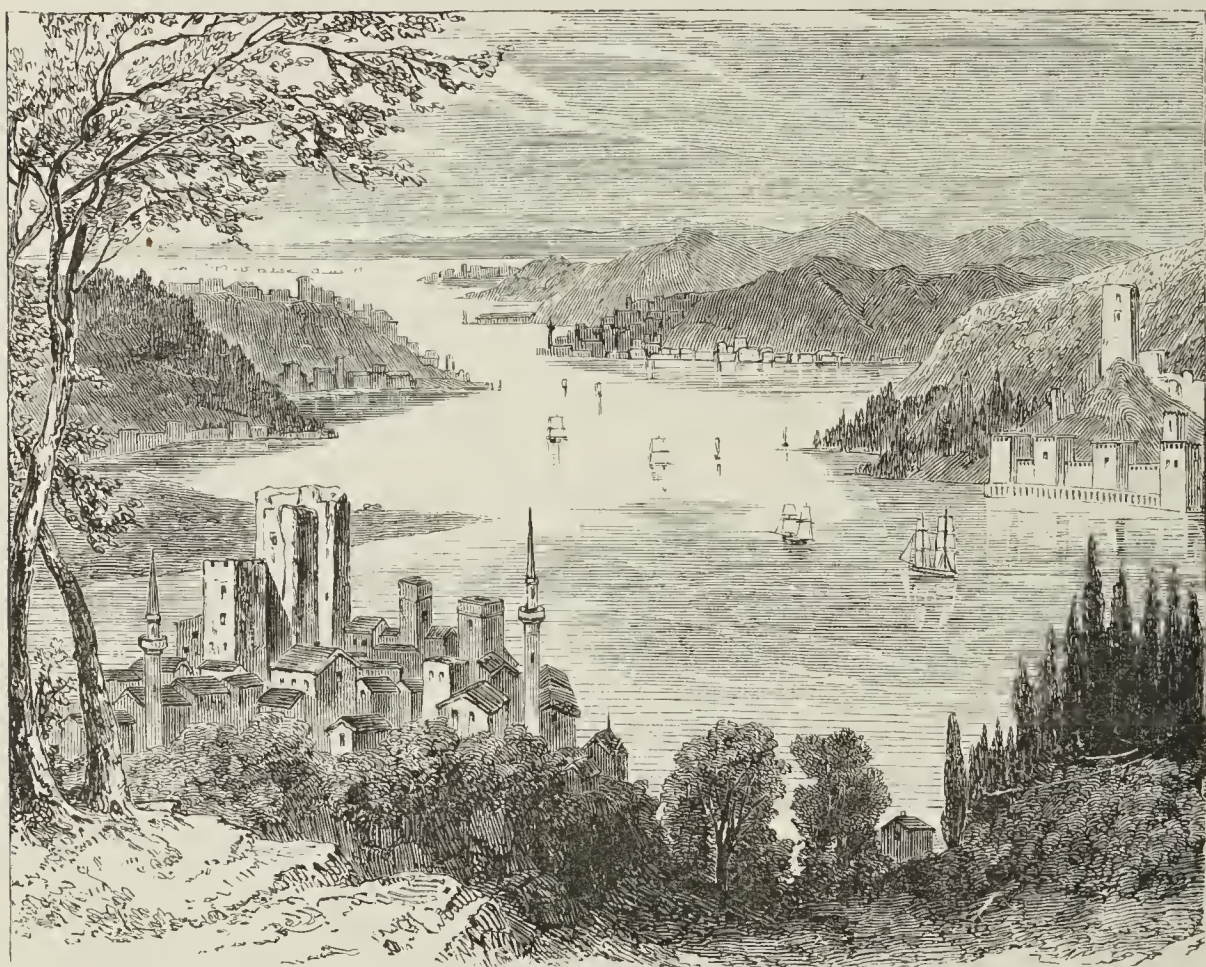
to be from Delphi, in the place where Xenophon is said to have harangued his soldiers after the famous retreat—we spent the evening and night at the home of Dr. Isaac Bliss, in Scutari. Here we met, at an evening religious service, the missionary families of the neighborhood for a little while, and spent the remainder of the evening in home-like conversation, varied by what seemed strange in Constantinople, the music of a piano and the flute.

In the morning Drs. Bliss and Wood accompanied us to the "Home," the place of American training for Armenian girls. We looked into its ample gardens, where the girls have their flower-beds, and into the tasteful parlors, full of American reminiscences and suggestions; met the teachers, and went to hear the classes. The girls recited promptly their Armenian Bible-lesson (the "paralytic"); sung one piece, also in their native tongue, and another in clear English; showed us their singularly good English penmanship; read intelligently in English, although with some native difficulties of pronunciation; and, in response to their teachers' inquiry, sent their warm thanks to the lady friends in America who have remembered and provided for them. Two of the Seniors sent flowers by me to an American lady, with their particular regards in English.

Crossing from Asia to Europe in a caique, we took the steamer up the Bosphorus till we could see the entrance into the Black Sea. The wind was raw, but the sun was clear, and the water, and the hill-sides lined with fine buildings and gardens, gleamed like a coronet of jewels. Returning, we spent an hour with Mr. Herrick, whose wife was a friend and relative of our friends. He took us to call on Ahmed Nefyk, a wealthy Turkish scholar and former statesman, who has been minister to France, has visited Germany, and speaks several languages. We looked through

his costly library of twelve thousand volumes, in various languages, containing many fine illustrated works, and numerous rare and remarkable copies of the Koran. It was a new aspect of the Turk. He entertained us for an hour or more with various conversation, accompanied with coffee, pipes, and tea, and at parting cordially invited us to come again.

Robert College was the next object of interest, where a



THE BOSPHORUS.

warm welcome awaited us from old friends and new. It stands on a commanding and slightly eminence, the monument of Christian progress, and a quiet influence of mighty power. It was a brief but memorable interview that we had with its scholarly corps of instructors and their wives, and a cheerful sight to see its two hundred and fifty students, of thirteen different nationalities. The leaven is evi-

dently working. From the roof of the building there are magnificent views up, down, and across the Bosphorus. In full sight, and close by, was the place where Darius landed in Europe, and where Xenophon crossed; and directly below, at the foot of the hill, and by the water's edge, a fortress built by the Turkish Sultan for the capture of Constantinople forty years before our country was discovered. The young American college commands the old Turkish fort.

From the college we were taken by the Rev. Mr. Pettibone to his home at Rev. Dr. Schauffler's. Here we saw the veteran translator, full of glow and brightness still; the man who has made his several versions of the Holy Book, and whose wife opened the first girls' school in the empire. We went with him to his evening meeting, where it was hard to say whether his words were more remarkable for their unction, or for their sprightliness and brilliancy. I asked him in conversation what he was going to do, now that his great work of translating was completed. "Going to Austria," was the quick reply, "to help my son haul in the net." He has since been there. A serene old age.

Another day of busy sight-seeing followed, greatly facilitated, as heretofore, by the guidance of our kind and expert friends, who were equally at home in the language, the customs, and the localities of the city. After exploring the great bazaar and its vast variety of wares, oriental and occidental, ancient and modern, and looking at various other objects of curiosity, we started to see the Sultan go to his mosque, this being the Mohammedan sacred day. It is never known long beforehand to which he will go. We went round to the principal palace, a fine white marble building on the water's side, and waited in the neighboring street, on which the land gate opens. It was expected that he would go to the noon prayers, but we waited until

half-past two. There was a large show of soldiers, infantry and cavalry, a great crowd of people, in carriages and on foot, a good deal of the usual hustling about, occasional bursts of music, and an immense cloud of blowing dust. But at length the street was all watered, the track spread with fresh gravel made level by the broom, all other dirt cleared off in baskets, and the signal sounded. The soldiers fell into line, and presented arms as the cavalry escort came slowly on, followed by a small knot of civil officers, and among them the Sultan's eldest son, all on horseback. Then came a splendid tall gray horse, raising the rider conspicuous above all the rest of the company. The rider passed within a few feet of us—a stout man, with strong, large features, rather pale, his grayish dark hair covered with the usual tarboush or fez, himself clad in a long blue frock-coat, with gold-laced collar and blue European pantaloons. His horse was conspicuously decorated with gold mountings, and the heavy yellow stirrups were apparently of the same metal. It was, of course, the Sultan Abdul Aziz. The soldiers received him with a shout, both at the beginning and end of the ride. Otherwise all was quiet. He moved by us on a walk to a small mosque not more than forty rods from the palace. The young missionary who stood by my side, unnoticed in the crowd, was helping wield the quiet influence before which this glittering parade was hastening to its doom. But we little thought at the time that Abdul Aziz himself, the centre of all this pomp and power, would in two short years be dethroned, and dying of self-inflicted scissor-wounds—or otherwise.

This showy pageant, veiling a tragedy at hand, was the end of our Oriental sights. After a night in another missionary home (Mr. Greene's), we bid farewell to these lands of the past, and set our faces toward the land of the future.

APPENDIX.

RECORD OF THERMOMETER (FAHRENHEIT) FROM SUEZ TO SIDON. 1874.

<i>Sunday, February 8th.</i>		<i>Saturday, February 14th.</i>	
Wady Sudr	9 A.M., 52°	Wady Feiran.....	7 A.M., 43°
" "	2 P.M., 60	" "	2 P.M., 65
" "	9 P.M., 52	Oasis of Feiran.....	9 P.M., 44
Partially cloudy all day.		<i>Sunday, February 15th.</i>	
<i>Monday, February 9th.</i>		Oasis of Feiran.....	7 A.M., 40°
Wady Sudr	7 A.M., 34°	" "	2 P.M., 65
En route.....	2 P.M., 58	" "	9 P.M., 51
Wady Gharandel.....	9 P.M., 43	<i>Monday, February 16th.</i>	
Clear. In the sun at noon, 98°.		Oasis of Feiran.....	7 A.M., 46°
<i>Tuesday, February 10th.</i>		Side of Mount Serbal	2 P.M., 62
Wady Gharandel.....	7 A.M., 37°	Oasis of Feiran.....	1 P.M., 49
Wady Ethal.....	2 P.M., 59	Partially cloudy. Thermometer at	
By the sea.....	9 P.M., 51	the summit of Serbal, 37° at noon.	
Clear all day.		<i>Tuesday, February 17th.</i>	
<i>Wednesday, February 11th.</i>		Oasis of Feiran.....	7 A.M., 44°
Mouth of Taiyibeh, by the sea.	7 A.M., 44°	Wady Feiran.....	2 P.M., 63
Wady Shellal.....	2 P.M., 60	Wady Solaf.....	9 P.M., 45
Wady Nugb Buderah	9 P.M., 54	Partially cloudy. Wind.	
Clear. In the sun at noon, 96°.		<i>Wednesday, February 18th.</i>	
<i>Thursday, February 12th.</i>		Wady Solaf.....	7 A.M., 36°
Wady Nugb Buderah.....	7 A.M., 43°	Wady Hebran.....	2 P.M., 68
Wady Mukatteb	2 P.M., 58	Wady Solaf.....	9 P.M., 46
Wady Feiran.....	9 P.M., 48	<i>Thursday, February 19th.</i>	
Clear. In the sun at noon, 102°.		Wady Solaf.....	9 A.M., 32°
<i>Friday, February 13th.</i>		Nugb Hawa.....	2 P.M., 59
Wady Feiran.....	7 A.M., 48°	Convent of Sinai.....	9 P.M., 48
" "	2 P.M., 60	Thermometer in the sun at eleven	
" "	7 P.M., 55	o'clock, 99°.	

Friday, February 20th.

Convent of Sinai.....7 A.M., 48°
 Summit of Ras Sufsafeh ...2 P.M., 58
 Camp near the convent 9 P.M., 46

Thermometer 65° on the summit of
 Mount Sinai at eleven o'clock.

Saturday, February 21st.

Camp near the convent....7 A.M., 39°
 " " " 2 P.M., 68
 " " " 9 P.M., 46

Sunday, February 22d.

Camp at Sinai.....7 A.M., 51°
 " " 2 P.M., 67
 " " 9 P.M., 57

Slightly cloudy in the afternoon.

Monday, February 23d.

Camp at Sinai.....7 A.M., 51°
 En route.....2 P.M., 69
 Wady Zuggerah.....9 P.M., 58

Clear. High wind in the morning.

Tuesday, February 24th.

Wady Zuggerah 7 A.M., 40°
 En route.....2 P.M., 70
 Wady Sa'al 9 P.M., 54

Slightly cloudy in the afternoon.

Wednesday, February 25th.

Wady Sa'al 7 A.M., 49°
 En route.....2 P.M., 68
 Wady es Sheikh 9 P.M., 48

Slight clouds.

Thursday, February 26th.

Wady es Sheikh 7 A.M., 40°
 En route.....2 P.M., 67
 Wady Lebweh.....9 P.M., 42

Slight clouds in the afternoon.

Friday, February 27th.

Wady Lebweh.....7 A.M., 38°
 En route.....2 P.M., 72
 Wady Sūwūk.....9 P.M., 55

Increasing cloudiness. Rain in the
 afternoon and in the night.

Saturday, February 28th.

Wady Sūwūk.....7 A.M., 49°
 En route.....2 P.M., 62
 Wady Bedá.....9 P.M., 48

Broken clouds. High wind.

Sunday, March 1st.

Wady Bedá.....7 A.M., 43°
 " " 2 P.M., 64
 " " 9 P.M., 53

Clear again.

Monday, March 2d.

Wady Bedá.....7 A.M., 40°
 Wady Ibn Sūkr.....2 P.M., 65
 Wady Bedá.....9 P.M., 56

Tuesday, March 3d.

Wady Bedá.....7 A.M., 54°
 Above Er Rakineh 2 P.M., 72
 Abu Nutheigineh.....9 P.M., 62

Threatening clouds. Sprinkling at
 night.

Wednesday, March 4th.

Abu Nutheigineh 7 A.M., 50°
 En route, desert.....2 P.M., 76
 Camp, desert 9 P.M., 57

Threatening clouds. Rain in the af-
 ternoon.

Thursday, March 5th.

Camp 7 A.M., 53°
 En route, desert.....2 P.M., 69
 Nukhl 9 P.M., 58

Showers in the morning. High cold
 wind in the afternoon.

Friday, March 6th.

Nukhl.....7 A.M., 38°
 " 2 P.M., 59
 " 9 P.M., 47
 Clear again.

Saturday, March 7th.

Nukhl.....7 A.M., 34°
 En route.....2 P.M., 68
 Camp, 13 miles from Nukhl.9 P.M., 47

Sunday, March 8th.

Camp, 13 miles from Nukhl.7 A.M., 42°
 " " " " .2 P.M., 57
 " " " " .9 P.M., 44
 Clear and windy.

Monday, March 9th.

Camp, 13 miles from Nukhl.7 A.M., 33°
 En route.....2 P.M., 64
 Wady Sheraif.....9 P.M., 54

Tuesday, March 10th.

Wady Sheraif.....7 A.M., 39°
 En route.....2 P.M., 59
 Wady Muweileh.....9 P.M., 58
 Windy. Showers in the forenoon.

Wednesday, March 11th.

Wady Muweileh.....7 A.M., 38°
 En route.....2 P.M., 73
 El Birein.....9 P.M., 52

Thursday, March 12th.

El Birein.....7 A.M., 43°
 Sebaita.....2 P.M., 69
 Ruhaibeh.....9 P.M., 53

Friday, March 13th.

Ruhaibeh.....7 A.M., 43°
 En route.....2 P.M., 76
 Camp, Wady Seba.....9 P.M., 58

Saturday, March 14th.

Wady Seba.....7 A.M., 50°
 Dhahariyeh.....2 P.M., 68
 " 9 P.M., 49

Sunday, March 15th.

Dhahariyeh.....7 A.M., 58°
 Hebron.....2 P.M., 68
 " 9 P.M., 51

Dense fog in the morning. Partially cloudy through the day. Barometer fell from 27.75 in the morning to 26.84 at noon and 26.85 at night.

Monday, March 16th.

Hebron.....7 A.M., 43°
 En route.....2 P.M., ..
 Jerusalem.....9 P.M., 50

Snow, sleet, and rain in showers all day, with bitterly piercing wind.

Tuesday, March 17th.

Jerusalem.....7 A.M., 46°
 " 2 P.M., 51
 " 9 P.M., 46

Rain in showers all day.

Wednesday, March 18th.

Jerusalem.....7 A.M., 44°
 " 2 P.M., 46
 " 9 P.M., 39

Snowing all day; five or six inches of heavy snow on the ground.

Thursday, March 19th.

Jerusalem.....7 A.M., 42°
 " 2 P.M., 53
 " 9 P.M., 46

Clearing weather.

Friday, March 20th.

Jerusalem.....7 A.M., 45°
 " 2 P.M., 48
 " 9 P.M., 46

Showers in the forenoon; clear in the afternoon.

Saturday, March 21st.

Jerusalem.....7 A.M., 52°
 " 2 P.M., 56
 " 9 P.M., 49

Sunday, March 22d.

Jerusalem.....	7 A.M., 52°
“	2 P.M., 54
“	9 P.M., 47

Partially cloudy.

Monday, March 23d.

Jerusalem.....	7 A.M., 50°
Bethlehem.....	2 P.M., 53
Mar Saba.....	9 P.M., 52

Rain and hail. Strong wind.

Tuesday, March 24th.

Mar Saba.....	7 A.M., 57°
Lower fords of Jordan.....	2 P.M., 72
Jericho.....	9 P.M., 51

Threatening clouds. Sprinkling.

Wednesday, March 25th.

Jericho.....	7 A.M., 55°
En route.....	2 P.M., 75
Bethel.....	9 P.M., 50

Cloudy. Rain in the afternoon.

Thursday, March 26th.

Bethel.....	7 A.M., 52°
En route.....	2 P.M., 68
Nablous.....	9 P.M., 58

Cloudy. Rain early in the morning, and in the afternoon.

Friday, March 27th.

Nablous.....	7 A.M., 52°
En route.....	2 P.M., 62
Jenin.....	9 P.M., 57

Heavy showers of rain and hail.

Saturday, March 28th.

Jenin.....	7 A.M., 49°
Shunem.....	2 P.M., 57
Nazareth.....	9 P.M., 53

Heavy showers at intervals all day.

Sunday, March 29th.

Nazareth.....	7 A.M., 51°
“	2 P.M., 57
“	9 P.M., 52

Clearing and clear.

Monday, March 30th.

Nazareth.....	7 A.M., 52°
En route.....	2 P.M., 60
Tiberias.....	9 P.M., 68

Clear.

Tuesday, March 31st.

Tiberias.....	7 A.M., 66°
Sea of Tiberias.....	2 P.M., 78
Tiberias.....	9 P.M., 71

Clear. Thermometer 100° in the sun at noon.

Wednesday, April 1st.

Tiberias.....	7 A.M., 63°
En route.....	2 P.M., 71
Kefr Menda.....	9 P.M., 55

Thursday, April 2d.

Kefr Menda.....	7 A.M., 60°
En route.....	2 P.M., 72
Near Aere.....	9 P.M., 65

Occasional clouds. A few drops of rain.

Friday, April 3d.

Camp near Aere.....	7 A.M., 62°
En route.....	2 P.M., 78
Tyre.....	9 P.M., 62

Occasional clouds. Showers in the afternoon.

Saturday, April 4th.

Tyre.....	7 A.M., 62°
En route.....	2 P.M., 67
Sidon.....	9 P.M., 54

Occasional clouds.

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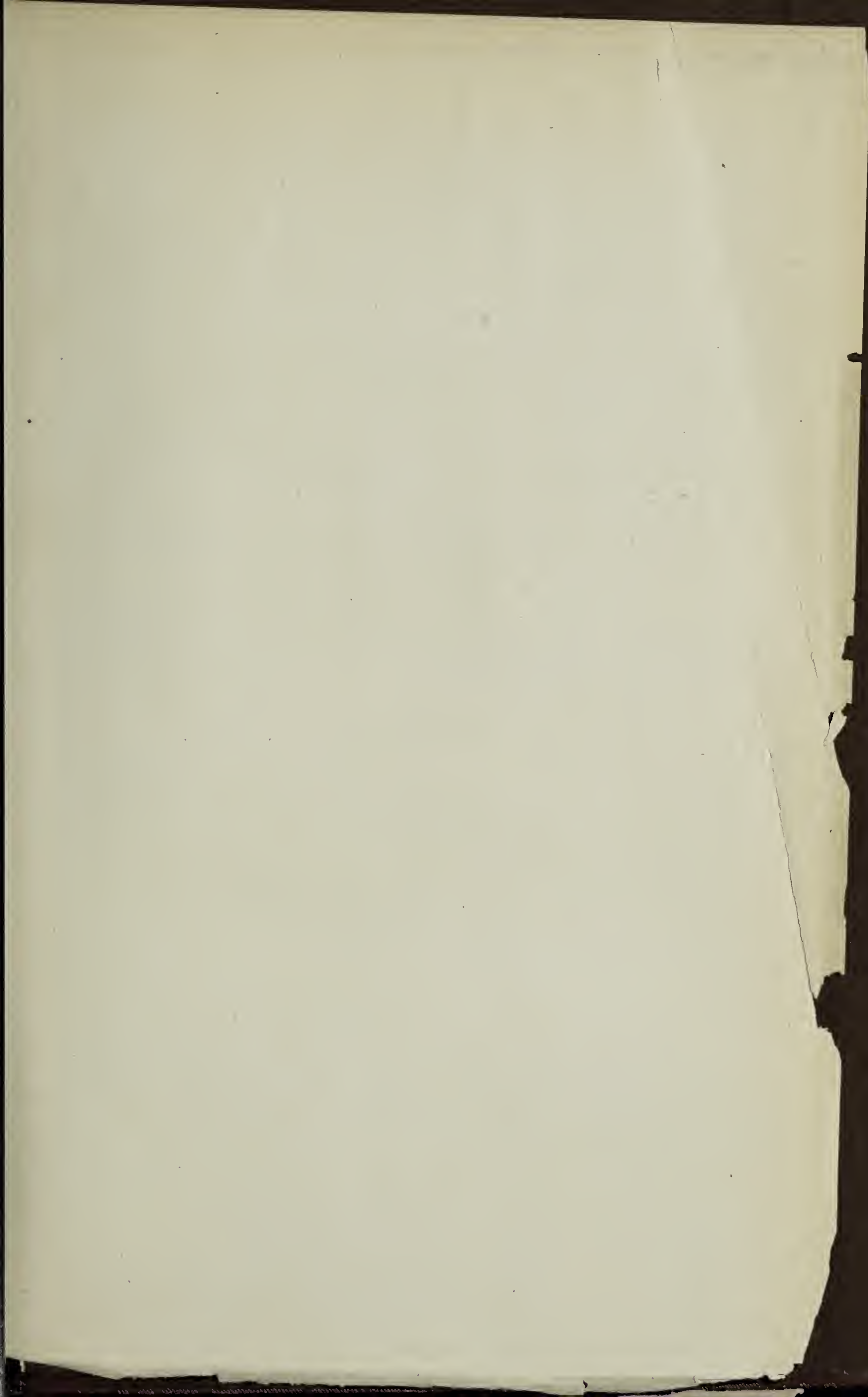
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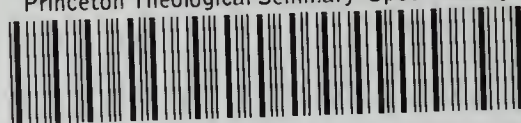
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